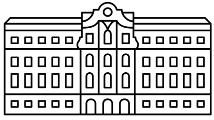

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SESSION REPORT

535

Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention: Sharing Experiences Across Borders

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SALZBURG INITIATIVE ON
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Session 535

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Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention:
Sharing Experiences Across Borders

SALZBURG GLOBAL SEMINAR | UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

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Background

Following the end of World War II and the revelations of the horrifying evidence of the Holocaust that had been perpetrated, the international community, through the recently formed United Nations, agreed in 1948 on a *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*[1]. The world rallied behind the cries of "Never Again!"

More than five decades later, however, the cry has not been heeded and, in the words of leading academic and US Ambassador to the UN, Samantha Power, has become "the world's most unfulfilled promise"[2]. Institutions and individuals – educators, activists, survivors, and many more – have taught about the Holocaust for decades, with an aim not just to maintain the historical record of a damning period of modern history that has shaped the world we live in today, but to try to prevail upon current and future generations not to allow a repeat of genocide.

The Holocaust was not the first – nor sadly has it been the last – genocide. It is extraordinarily well documented. There were many survivors who were able to give first person testimony and the Nazi regime kept meticulous records of the crimes they committed. The Holocaust "fundamentally challenged the foundations of civilization" and will "always hold universal meaning,"[3] as stated in the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust (2000), the founding document of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) as an international organization.[4] For this reason, Holocaust education is considered a key mechanism to help people to reflect not only on its causes and consequences, but as a means to help understand other genocides and, importantly, to seek to prevent genocide, ethnic cleansing, racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia in the future.

In reaction to recent genocides, the linkages, particularly in the classroom, between Holocaust education, international human rights and genocide prevention, are increasingly explored, with special attention given to the documentation and effective comparative analysis between the Holocaust and other genocides. However,

1. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: www.hrweb.org/legal/genocide.html

2. Power, Samantha. Never Again: The World's Most Unfilled Promise, FRONTLINE: www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/karadzic/genocide/neveragain.html

3. Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust: www.holocaustremembrance.com/about-us/stockholm-declaration

4. Formerly known as the International Taskforce on Holocaust Education: www.holocaustremembrance.com

Symposium chair, Klaus Mueller, European Representative for the US Holocaust Memorial Museum

questions remain regarding whether seeking comparisons discounts particular historical and cultural contexts and possibly diminishes the meaning of these experiences.

In 2010, Salzburg Global Seminar convened a conference, under the chairmanship of Klaus Mueller, representative of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum for Europe, on The Global Prevention of Genocide: Learning From the Holocaust which examined challenges in Holocaust education. One of the key findings was that Holocaust education was generally well developed, with many programs and projects in place. Most of these, however, were within countries that were already members of IHRA. The glaring gap related to the world beyond the 31 member countries of IHRA; what were these countries, the majority of the globe in fact, teaching related to the Holocaust and/or other genocides? Did they find relevance in the Holocaust? How was it taught, if at all, and what challenges did they face? Were they teaching about it alongside other genocides, especially ones that would have more direct historical relevance to their regions? Were they confronted with denial—of the Holocaust or other genocides they were teaching?

In light of these important questions, Salzburg Global and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum determined that the Salzburg Initiative on Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention should be further developed with a focus on the following issues:

- Examining how Holocaust and genocide education can help in developing a culture of genocide prevention through respect for human rights;
- Understanding and documenting the scope and state of Holocaust and genocide education in countries that are not members of the IHRA;
- Identifying the prevalence of, and strategies to counter, Holocaust and genocide denial and distortion;
- Building and nurturing a global network on Holocaust and genocide education; and
- Exploring options to facilitate exchange and cooperation between Holocaust and other genocide education programs as developed in IHRA member states and non-IHRA states.

The initiative has held a series of symposia with various experts, launched a dedicated website to collect and share data (holocaust.salzburgglobal.org), created country profiles of more than 40 countries that are not members of IHRA, and produced a publication on *Global Perspectives on Holocaust Education: Trends, Patterns and Practices*. The most recent initiative activity was a symposium held June 21 to 26, 2014 at Salzburg Global Seminar, with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, on *Holocaust and Genocide Education: Sharing Experience Across Borders*. What follows is a summary of the key points discussed at the symposium and the resulting recommendations.

Salzburg Global program consultant and session director, Marie-Louise Ryback

Summary

The third symposium of the series on Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention, convened at Salzburg Global Seminar from June 21 to 26, 2014 by Salzburg Global and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, with additional support from the Austrian Future Fund, International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, Pratt Foundation, Austrian National Fund and other donors, brought together 47 participants, representing 29 countries from five continents, to examine in greater scope the role of Holocaust education in countries outside of the IHRA framework. This diverse set of educators, civil society leaders, museum directors, policy influencers, public officials and others working in the field of Holocaust education and genocide prevention, grappled with the following questions:

- Can the lessons from the Holocaust and other genocides serve as a framework to warn future generations of pending mass atrocities?
- What can be learned from these events to enable preventive measures in the future?
- How can the lessons of the Holocaust be brought to future generations, especially in the world beyond Europe, North America and Israel?
- How are the Holocaust and other genocides taught and commemorated in other areas of the globe?
- Are there strategies to counteract Holocaust and genocide denial and distortion?

Participants were asked in advance to summarize the state of Holocaust and genocide education in their countries, including determining how widespread knowledge of and education about the Holocaust and other genocides are; whether they are linked/compared one to the other, and/or to human rights and genocide prevention, and to what effect; what educational materials are available and most often used; whether denial is a problem and, if so, what strategies are used to combat it; and, what materials they lack, or wish they had, to teach about the Holocaust and other genocides with a view to prevention. The country summaries will be used to help build the knowledge base about the global state of Holocaust and genocide education.

In addition to sharing information on the state of Holocaust and genocide education in their countries, participants were asked to

concentrate their efforts on crafting specific recommendations that could be shared with others in the field. The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance had published the "Education Working Group Paper on the Holocaust and Other Genocides"[5] containing suggestions for classroom teachers. Participants reviewed these suggestions through an international lens, in their roles as educators in different geographical and cultural contexts, and drew up recommendations to present to IHRA to improve their relevance. They also focused on the problem of denial of the Holocaust and other genocides, and identified strategies for addressing denial in different country contexts. Lastly, participants considered the importance of education policy in promoting and supporting Holocaust and genocide education and outlined plans for raising awareness of their import with policy-makers.

The initiative has created a unique international network of actors dedicated to genocide prevention from countries that are not members of IHRA. The primary goal of the 2014 symposium was to further strengthen and expand the initiative's global network of partners, enabling them to implement activities that spread awareness about the Holocaust, Holocaust education, and genocide prevention, and reach an ever-growing number of young people in ways appropriate to their cultures and countries.

The five-day program was designed to foster open and candid discussion among all participants. The formal agenda included: two presentations by invited speakers; panel presentations conducted as conversations; an interactive exercise on teaching the Holocaust; working group meetings; evening conversations; and an excursion to the Mauthausen Memorial. In light of the 20th anniversary of the genocide against the Tutsis in Rwanda, an evening was also devoted to this subject.

5. Education Working Group Paper on the Holocaust and Other Genocides (2010): www.holocaustremembrance.com/educate/holocaust-and-other-genocides

View from atop the train of Jews lined up for selection on the ramp at Auschwitz-Birkenau
(United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Yad Vashem (Public Domain))

What do we mean by "Holocaust"?

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum defines the Holocaust as follows:

"The Holocaust was the systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of approximately six million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators. Holocaust is a word of Greek origin meaning 'sacrifice by fire.' The Nazis, who came to power in Germany in January 1933, believed that Germans were 'racially superior' and that the Jews, deemed 'inferior,' were an alien threat to the so-called German racial community. During the era of the Holocaust, German authorities also targeted other groups because of their perceived 'racial inferiority': Roma (Gypsies), the disabled, and some of the Slavic peoples (Poles, Russians, and others). Other groups were persecuted on political, ideological, and behavioral grounds, among them Communists, Socialists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and homosexuals."

Historian Peter Black provides this clarification:

"Since the definition of the Holocaust that we have adopted [from the Holocaust Encyclopedia] refers only to the Jewish experience of persecution and murder under Nazi rule, victims and the survivors of the Holocaust can only be Jews or persons deemed to be Jews by the Nazi regime. Consequently, we offer a formula 'in the era of the Holocaust' (e.g., victims in or survivors of the era of the Holocaust) so that we can include non-Jewish victims without invalidating the definition of the Holocaust that we have inherited. It's not a perfect solution, but it seems to be the best way to get at the realities of Nazi population policy—including policy towards the Jews—without doing damage to the symbolism of the word "Holocaust" as it is now understood."

See: www.ushmm.org/learn/introduction-to-the-holocaust

Introduction

The symposium opened with a brief overview on why the topic of Holocaust education is integral to the program at Salzburg Global Seminar and how this program has been developed with the help of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in cooperation with Salzburg Global and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Clare Shine, vice president and chief program officer of Salzburg Global Seminar, welcomed the participants and emphasized that Salzburg Global's roots are in reconciliation, peacebuilding, and a commitment to "global citizenship." She also explained that the history of Schloss Leopoldskron, the headquarters of Salzburg Global, is tied inherently to the persecution of Jews in Austria. The previous owner, theatre impresario Max Reinhardt, had been forced to flee Austria in 1938 because he was Jewish. (His widow later sold the building to the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies, which would later become Salzburg Global Seminar.) It is therefore fitting that the subject of Holocaust education be addressed by Salzburg Global Seminar at Schloss Leopoldskron.

Clare Shine

Edward Mortimer, former vice president of Salzburg Global Seminar, and founder of the initiative, explained that he began this program partly as a response to the agreement in 2001 between the Austrian government and the United States government on compensation and restitution for Holocaust victims and in part with a goal of linking Holocaust education to genocide prevention. Following a "horizon scanning" meeting in 2009 on prevention, Salzburg Global invited Klaus Mueller, European representative of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) to chair the first symposium in 2010, and thereafter, Salzburg Global and the USHMM jointly crafted the Salzburg Initiative on Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention.

Edward Mortimer

With regard to Austria's role, guest speaker **Gerhard Baumgartner**, scientific director at the Documentation Center of Austrian Resistance representing the Austrian government, provided an overview of the

Gerhard Baumgartner, scientific director of the Documentation Center of the Austrian Resistence

development of Holocaust education in Austria[6]. He recounted that until the 1970s there was no formal Holocaust education provided in school curricula. The primary national narrative portrayed Austria as the first victim of the Nazi regime, without further contextualization. Not until 1986 and the international coverage of what came to be known as “The Waldheim Affair”[7] did Austria begin to confront the complicated role it played in the Holocaust. As details of the former Secretary General to the United Nations and then-Austrian presidential candidate, Kurt Waldheim’s record serving in the military of Nazi Germany came to light, it became impossible for Austrians to claim status as solely “victims” and forget that many members of its military, leadership, and civilians, were directly or indirectly involved as perpetrators and collaborators. While steps were taken in the following decade to redress some of the wrongs, it was only since 2000 that the national curricula included specific materials for teaching about the Holocaust, and that teachers received special training. The Austrian case reveals the many layers and complications associated with understanding “victims” and “perpetrators” and the challenges of confronting one’s own “troubled history”. The government is dedicated now to improving and sharing pedagogies and materials, and considers it essential not just to understand history, but to help prevent a repeat of the circumstances that allowed the atrocities in the first place.

Context-setting

Klaus Mueller, who has chaired the Salzburg Initiative on Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention since 2010, recounted its development and current focus on exploring the contributions to the field from engaged individuals, NGOs and states outside the IHRA network.[8] He noted that "much of the debate over the last decade has investigated whether, and how, we can move from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention" and unfolded leading questions for this session to address, such as the complex relationship between teaching about and learning from the Holocaust or other genocides, rising Holocaust denial, and the long-term assessment of genocide education. He spoke not only of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's increasing global role in Holocaust education and programmatic work on confronting genocide and rising anti-Semitism, but explained the work of the Salzburg Initiative in relation to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)'s work over the last two decades in promoting education on the Holocaust. He noted that, as crucial as the work of IHRA is, there is a pressing need to create a knowledge base about the state and nature of Holocaust and genocide education beyond the IHRA member states. The initiative is creating a platform to enable educators to build knowledge, share information and strategies, and create a unique global network to continue to improve the field of Holocaust and genocide education with a view to preventing future atrocities.

"There exists a complex relationship between teaching about and learning from the Holocaust or other genocides."

6. A summary of the Austrian country report on Holocaust education can be found in Appendix III

7. The Waldheim Affair: www.demokratiezentrum.org/en/knowledge/stations-a-z/the-waldheim-affair.html

8. Klaus Mueller's prologue to the publication *Global Perspectives on Holocaust Education* can be found in Appendix IV; the full publication can be found online: holocaust.salzburgglobal.org/related-documents

Sir Andrew Burns, Chair of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance

Before reviewing the global situation, however, **Sir Andrew Burns**, chair of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, was asked to explain the work of IHRA. Sir Andrew opened by reminding the group of the essential import of not allowing the memory of the Holocaust, as a paradigmatic genocide, to fade, since it serves "as a warning of what happened once and could happen again, unless we all stand firm against prejudice, anti-Semitism, racial intolerance and xenophobia." Sadly, despite the warnings available, mass atrocities continue to be perpetrated in many parts of the globe, including recently in Europe itself, and "each time we wake up late and wish we had acted sooner." The Holocaust has cast a long shadow that continues to hang over us today; the chief concern is whether or how learning about – and from – it can help to build a "firebreak" (a barrier to slow or stop the progress of a fire) between prejudice past and future. Sir Andrew provided an overview of the origins and functions of IHRA[9] and went on to outline what he saw as key challenges for the participants to consider and seek to address in their deliberations and through their networks:

- **Research**: Access to archives is crucially important for building on a factual base that is properly understood. Similarly, capturing testimonies, identifying and memorializing killing sites, and collecting and preserving physical evidence are critical research priorities.
- **Denial**: Holocaust denial and distortion are very real and rising. Educators must use their voices to guard against and correct denial of the Holocaust and all genocides.

Member states of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance currently are: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom and United States of America.

- **Remembrance**: Supporting remembrance ceremonies and spaces dedicated to memory is critical. Museums, memorials and monuments can function as that all important "firebreak" between the past and future.
- **Education**: Educators should have a clear understanding of why they want to teach and what they hope to achieve, and from that determine what tools to use and how best to convey the most important facts. Educators must work with facts and be careful not to manipulate, trivialize, or portray overly simplified versions of events. It is too easy to create emotionally sympathetic stories that contain half-truths or even false representations of complicated histories.
- **Values**: As Sir Andrew described it, "the strongest barrier against prejudice is the ethical strength of a society. Values of tolerance and mutual understanding need to be inculcated into the young and reinforced throughout life. And they have to be based on a profound sense of history."
- **Action**: In his last point, he urged participants to remain observant and vigilant, able to identify and willing to "recognize evil" where and when it appears. It is too easy for hate speech and crimes, racial, ethnic and religious abuse to become accepted, even mainstream, if no one is ready to name and take action against them.

Sir Andrew noted the now widespread acknowledgement of "universal values" and international human rights agreements, and posited that the Holocaust, having revealed what can occur when hatred goes unchecked and neither the state nor society protects the rights of its citizens and inhabitants, spurred the realization of the need to protect the rights of all peoples. And to this day, he noted, in protecting people's rights, "we are drawing inspiration from the memory of the Holocaust."[9]

9. International Holocaust Rememberance Alliance: www.holocaustremembrance.com

10. Sir Andrew Burns' full speech can be found in Appendix V

Views from the Regions

As indicated, the symposium intentionally focused on countries and regions outside of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) membership. Since the majority of participants came from countries outside of IHRA, and in order to cover a wide range of experiences, panels were constructed on a regional basis to address the challenge questions outlined in the introduction.

What follows is a brief summary of the key points raised by, and through, each panel.

Asia

Panelists included:

Fumiko Ishioka	*Executive Director, Tokyo Holocaust Education Resource Center, Japan*
Meng Yang	*Chinese Ph.D. student, Freie University, Berlin, Germany*
Stephen Zhang	*former Consultant, Shanghai Jewish Refugees Museum, China*
Eunsim Park	*General Secretary, Dream Makers for North Korea, South Korea*
Farina So	*Head – Cham Oral History, Documentation Center of Cambodia*

Moderator:

Glenn Timmermans	*Associate Professor, University of Macau in China*

As the first participant panel, the discussion focused largely on understanding the (potential) relevance of Holocaust education in countries where it was not perpetrated; and whether it may be more – or less – relevant in countries where genocide has been perpetrated.

Fumiko Ishioka recounted that, in **Japan**, while there had been many books, screening of films, and traveling exhibitions on the Holocaust

Fumiko Ishioka and Glenn Timmermans

in Japan, the idea of "Holocaust education" was introduced when the Holocaust Education Center[10] opened in 1995 in Hiroshima. It is a museum designed especially for young students. Tokyo Holocaust Education Resource Center (THERC)[11] also started its educational outreach activities in 1998 for the purpose of teaching tolerance, respect, and compassion. THERC's educational programs have reached more than 200,000 students at 900 schools so far. While the Holocaust had been seen as a tragic "event" which was part of the war for a long time in Japan, both organizations have successfully given students a chance to see the bigger picture of the Holocaust. Through the education programs, students can learn the history of anti-Semitism, the context of the financial depression and social unrest in Germany before the Nazis came to power, and other steps that eventually led to the killing of six million Jewish people (and an attempt to exterminate all Jews in Europe). Students are encouraged to use their understanding of the Holocaust to reflect upon discrimination and prejudice that are closer at home. THERC have developed four major programs, using the stories of Anne Frank, *Hana's Suitcase,* the children's secret school in Terezin, and Chiune Sugihara (Japanese for "Righteous among the Nations") and the escape journey of Jewish refugees through Japan, all of which have Japanese elements. THERC now faces the challenge of taking its efforts a step further in response to the recent rise in racist rallies targeting Korean residents in Japan.

10. Holocaust Education Center, Hiroshima, Japan: www.urban.ne.jp/home/hecjpn/indexENGLISH.html

11. Tokyo Holocaust Education Resource Center (THERC): www.ne.jp/asahi/holocaust/tokyo/english_therc.html

Korea has survived a difficult recent history, including colonization, war, division into two mutually hostile states, military dictatorship, and more. The results have been devastating – in particular in North Korea, which remains an isolated, highly militarized country with one of the world's worst human rights records. In South Korea, Eunsim Park identified the publication of *The Diary of Anne Frank* in Korean language in the late 1980s as a landmark moment. Popular culture continued to raise awareness of the Holocaust through films like *Schindler's List* and *Life is Beautiful.* But while these played a positive role in many respects, they did not provide a factual or analytical basis. At present, South Korea is working with the USHMM to create relevant materials for educators to use. South Korea has a significant Christian population and there is widespread interest in Jewish history as a consequence of this. It is the only Asian country with direct air links with Israel, and a fascination with Christianity's Jewish origins is nurturing growing concern also in Jewish culture, especially the place of Talmud, and now too the Holocaust. Some universities are now beginning to teach the Holocaust as part of courses on Jewish history and South Korea has been working with Yad Vashem[12], in Israel, since 2013 to increase the number of specially trained Korean educators in this area.

As reported by Meng Yang and Stephen Zhang, the central government in **China** has recognized the importance of the Holocaust and Jewish history in modern politics and, to help demonstrate its commitment to honoring the presence of Jewish refugees in Shanghai during the war years, the government and Shanghai municipality helped to renovate a historical synagogue (Ohel Rachel) in that city. In addition, as part

Eunsim Park

12. Yad Vashem, Israel: www.yadvashem.org

of that synagogue complex, there is a Jewish Refugee Museum in Shanghai[13], which is the only museum in Asia, outside of Japan, that is specifically dedicated to remembering the Holocaust. The Shanghai museum is unique in providing information about the German and Austrian Jews who found refuge in China during World War II (Jews had settled in China, in limited numbers, long before this time). As the speakers presented it, the Chinese consider the Holocaust to be a Jewish story with important human ramifications and, in recent years, it has been used increasingly also to reflect on Japanese war crimes in China, most particularly the Nanjing Massacre of 1937[14] and the experiments on humans in Manchuria at Unit 731. These events remain fraught and continue to influence Sino-Japanese relations, especially now that there is growing tension over territorial claims in the East China Sea. Holocaust education is still limited in school settings, where curricula are very tightly managed; but universities have considerably more leeway and full advantage is being taken of this in the number of centers dedicated to Jewish history in China today. Universities in Nanjing, Shandong, Shanghai, Chongqing, Beijing, Kaifeng and Zhengzhou teach Jewish history, religion or politics (as a part of area studies) and the Holocaust forms at least part of some of these courses.

Since 2004 the London Jewish Cultural Centre has been conducting annual summer schools on Jewish history and the Holocaust and, to date, over 800 students have attended these courses. From 2010, Yad Vashem, through sponsorship from the Adelson Family Foundation, has been running annual two-week seminars for Chinese educators specifically on the Holocaust and 30 are chosen from across China to attend in Israel every year. The Chinese presenters did note that there remain mixed responses to linking Holocaust and WWII education to human rights, and noted there may be generational distinctions at play.

13. Shanghai Jewish Refugee Museum, China: www.shanghaijews.org.cn/english

14. For more information about the "rape of Nanking" or the Nanking massacre, see: www.eyewitnesstohistory.com/nanking.htm

“Examining genocides in other countries make it easier to understand what happened in your own.”

Farina So noted that in **Cambodia**, genocide is considered the “responsibility of all.” But, to date, little emphasis has been placed on understanding “why” and “how” genocides – particularly that which Cambodians survived – happen. Within their country context, the term “genocide” is politicized and the representative questioned how important it is to wait until legal decisions are taken before collecting evidence and initiating dialogue. The very slow pace of the UN Tribunal into the crimes of the Khmer Rouge has also delayed greater governmental involvement in initiating genocide education. In So’s opinion, the country needs to face its past in order to deal with it and move on to building a stronger and healthier future. She also felt that examining genocides in other countries made it easier to understand what happened in your own. The worst of the violence happened between 1975 and 1979, but it was not until 2007 that materials were incorporated into textbooks and the national curriculum. Efforts have been made to work with and train not just formal educators in schools, but also police and other key figures in society as part of the process. Many Cambodians also believe that their experience could help serve as a “firebreak” to other societies and are, therefore, interested in having their story shared with the world. She added that Holocaust education remains limited in Cambodia due to scarce resources and the country context. *The Diary of Anne Frank* has been published in Khmer and distributed to local high schools in Phnom Penh and selected government institutions. She emphasized that comparative genocide studies are essential to ensure the ability of educators and learners to acknowledge and understand other atrocities that have happened, or are occurring, in various parts of the world.

“Holocaust education is considered a possible mechanism not only for learning about the past, but also for connecting it to present day – increasing – intolerance.”

Regional politics and international relations are still complicated by events preceding, during and following WWII, and Holocaust education is considered a possible mechanism not only for learning about the past, but also for connecting it to present day – increasing – intolerance and efforts to build greater tolerance and understanding across the region. As one presenter noted, education about the war in her country presented overly simplistic messages about war being “bad”, but deeper analysis, and linkages to why respect for “others” and for human rights matters, and what can be done to prevent violence going forward, was lacking. In her opinion, Holocaust education can help students explore human nature – good and bad, what justice means, and how to counteract hatred and intolerance. It is also important as a means to counteract, or debunk, the mythologizing of leaders. There

is a dangerous trend, notable in Asia, but not only there, of admiring leaders who perpetrated atrocities; often dismissing or diminishing the atrocities as a "flaw" in an otherwise admired successful leader. Not unrelated, there is also a trend of considering Jews – even today – as super or sub human: demonizing them or, arguably as dangerous, seeing them as extraordinary.

The panel also considered the current situation in **North Korea**. Participants received copies of a letter from the Honorable Michael Kirby, Chair of the United Nations Human Rights Council's Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights Violations by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK; commonly called North Korea). In short, the Commission found indisputable evidence of mass atrocities being perpetrated by the DPRK on its own people[15]. Glenn Timmermans pointed out that many people claimed, following WWII and the broad release of information about the Holocaust, that more would have been done "had we only known." The situation in North Korea is known, and yet the international community seems paralyzed – what, then, is the point of educating people about genocide and human rights if it does not help to prevent other atrocities? This was a rhetorical question, perhaps, but one that reverberated around the room as there was no clear, and palatable, answer. As one participant movingly responded, she wished the world could point to North Korea as one example of "how, this time, we did it right; this time, it worked."

Farina So

"What is the point of educating people about genocide and human rights if it does not help to prevent other atrocities?"

15. A copy of Michael Kirby's letter is included in Appendix VI; the complete Commission report can be found at: www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/CoIDPRK/Pages/ReportoftheCommissionofInquiryDPRK.aspx

Australia

Panelists included:

Wenise Kim	*Master's student in the EU commissioned program on Human Rights & Democratization, University of Sydney, Australia*
Konrad Kwiet	*Pratt Foundation Professor in Modern Jewish History and Holocaust Studies, University of Sydney, Australia*
Yotam Weiner	*Education Manager, Sydney Jewish Museum, Australia*

Moderator:

Eun Jung Choi	*Political Researcher, Embassy of the Republic of Korea in Washington, DC, USA*

Australia, although it cannot be separated from the history and relations that remain problematic in the Asia-Pacific region, was handled in its own panel. Australia has its own unique, and troubled, history and the panel was asked to directly confront questions of attempted genocide of Aboriginals. Konrad Kwiet, the first respondent, explained that education about genocide, the Holocaust, and Australian Aboriginals, has been well established since the 1980s. That said, there are few educators able to compare and contrast these experiences and analyze them alongside one another. The result is that they are taught in isolated ways.

In addition, education around the Holocaust is largely left to civil groups, rather than under government auspices with approved curricula. Australia has the highest per capita number of Holocaust survivors outside of Israel and they have largely taken on responsibility for Holocaust education and training the next generations of educators. The government, while signing onto important international treaties, etc., has taken only a minor role in addressing the implications of the Holocaust. Nor has the government diligently pursued war criminals (from the Holocaust, or other atrocities of scale); nor has it played a very active role in extraditions or helping in other ways to bring perpetrators of major international criminal acts to justice.

“If Holocaust education reveals the greatest failings of human decency, then it should also inspire – and possibly equip – students (broadly defined) to help build a society.”

Yotam Weiner noted that his primary interest is in understanding and improving how to apply Holocaust education to teach empathy and, further, to challenge people to consider how to build societies

Wenise Kim, Konrad Kwiet, Yotam Weiner and Eun Jung Choi

that prevent discrimination. In his opinion, relatively little is known about what works in this regard. He felt that the value of Holocaust education is directly linked to whether it "works" in terms of preventing genocide, and the behaviors preceding it. He wants to know whether Holocaust education does, in fact, help to diminish discrimination and defamation, and to build empathy. Unfortunately, little concrete evidence is available. He would like to ensure that, through studying the Holocaust, people learn to identify with "others" and victims, learn empathy, and begin to form a vision for a better, fairer society. If Holocaust education reveals the greatest failings of human decency, then it should also inspire – and possibly equip – students (broadly defined) to help build a society in which they wish to live – a society which welcomes all peoples. This, clearly, extends well beyond teaching history. Wenise Kim explicated the point further, expressing her opinion that Australia has a responsibility not only to ensure its citizens are educated about genocide, but also to take a more active role in addressing mass atrocities in the region. She pointed to the current atrocities taking place in North Korea and indicated that Australia should take a leading role in calling international attention to the situation, as well as taking concrete steps to help stop the mass violence.

This discussion led to more questions regarding whether educators teach *about* the Holocaust, or teach *from* it in order to help build responses like empathy. A caution was raised that the Holocaust was a very specific experience, and cannot be expected to be the central point for teaching all positive values, and addressing all global ills (as it were). So, what *can* be learned by studying the Holocaust, other genocides and mass atrocities; and what materials, pedagogies, and policies are best suited to help achieve those goals?

Asya Darbinyan, Alexander Engels and Charles Ehrlich

Post-Soviet Countries

Panelists included:

Asya Darbinyan	*Armenian Ph.D. student at the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Clark University, USA*
Alexander Engels	*Director, Jewish Museum in Moscow, Russia*
Elena Ivanova	*Chair of General Psychology, Department of Psychology, V.N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine;*
Elene Medzmariashvili	*Professor and Director of the M.A. Program in American Studies, Tbilisi State University, Georgia*

Moderator:

Charles Ehrlich	*Program Director, Salzburg Global Seminar, Austria*

Charles Ehrlich opened with a brief overview of the prevalence across the region, during the era of the USSR, of references to "victims of Fascism" and/or "the Great Patriotic War," with little context or attempt to distinguish victims of the Holocaust from those of the war, or of other atrocities. Since the breakup of the Soviet Union that has been changing, but things remain very much in flux. The panel was asked to reflect specifically on whether Holocaust and genocide education is relevant for the next generation and, if it is, what are the primary challenges faced in providing this education.

Alexander Engels explained that Holocaust education in **Russia** was introduced in the early 1990s, following the collapse of the USSR.

There is a Holocaust education center in the country and it does provide teacher training for educators. Textbooks and school materials introduced the Holocaust in classrooms, and educators enjoyed a degree of independence in selecting material. The government, however, has begun to restrict this independence and textbooks are now, again, streamlined – presenting an official history of the Holocaust. There were so many Russian deaths linked to the war that, from a "numbers" perspective , there are those who question the importance of focusing on the Holocaust of the Jews specifically; this tendency, he cautioned, cannot be entirely disconnected from the prevalence of anti-Semitism (which was encouraged under the Soviet regime). He went on to note that, while Holocaust education had been tied to building tolerance and respect for human rights, the current government would like to see these elements removed. As he put it, Holocaust education today is part of a "sharp ideological debate" in Russia. It was also pointed out that the Russian government has sought to manipulate the political situation along its borders by using claims of genocide being perpetrated, and/or threatened, against ethnic Russians living in other countries, to justify Russian interference in the politics of, for example, Georgia and Ukraine. At this stage of Holocaust research, he noted, there is a struggle to understand terms such as genocide; the challenges go beyond "scientific" debate.

Elena Ivanova noted that the Holocaust was a taboo subject in **Ukraine** during the Soviet era. There were no references in school textbooks. Fears of discussing it ran so deep that families would not discuss their experience connected with the Holocaust even among themselves. In 1991, with Ukrainian independence, the situation changed and efforts were made to craft a national narrative, analyzing and interpreting the Ukrainian experience in those years and the ramifications thereof. The first president of Ukraine offered a public apology for the partial guilt of Ukrainians in the Holocaust. It is estimated that up to 1.5 million Jews were killed in Ukraine during the Holocaust, but because the vast majority of these were simply executed on the spot, there are few physical memorial sites. The Babi Yar ravine, however, which was filled with the bodies of nearly 34,000 Jews shot over a two day period, has become a memorial site, and monuments have been erected in other areas where mass shootings occurred. Holocaust education is particularly complicated in Ukraine given that millions of non-Jewish Ukrainians were murdered during the war as part of a Nazi extermination plan for most of the population, with intentions for a

"In order to help build sensitivity to 'recognize evil,' Holocaust and genocide education should focus on how small the steps are between bystanders, collaborators and perpetrators and how easy it is to move from one to the other."

“Intentionally seeking to build tolerance through teaching of history, being sensitive to multi-ethnic/racial/ religious environments, may be one of the best hopes for creating more resilient peaceful societies.”

majority of survivors to be enslaved. The Holocaust is taught alongside the *Holodomor*[16], translated as “extermination by famine”, the expulsion of Crimean Tartars[17], and other atrocities in Ukrainian history and has provided a framework for presenting and “understanding” the circumstances that allowed these atrocities to happen. The speaker went on to note, however, that most people consider the Holocaust a historical event and do not see that it has contemporary meaning. She suggested that, in order to help build sensitivity to “recognize evil” that Holocaust and genocide education should focus on how small the steps are, in fact, between bystanders, collaborators and perpetrators and how easy it is to move from one to the other.

In **Georgia**, Elene Medzmariashvili suggested that there is no notable history of indigenous anti-Semitism, and Jewish history in the area dates back more than 2500 years. She indicated that the Holocaust does not have great resonance in the country, but rather, focus is given to incidences of ethnic cleansing and persecution that have directly affected Georgians. She indicated that parallels are not drawn between these events, nor are many supplementary materials about the Holocaust available in Georgian. She suggested that finding ways to teach about the Holocaust in contemporary terms could be helpful, especially given the evident increase in prejudice and discrimination against the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community, and people of minority faiths – especially Muslim, among others. There is a need to teach tolerance and respect and to ground these in relevant historical experience of how devastating the effects can be when these values are not in place. She hopes that ways can be found to make learning about, and from, the Holocaust “more interesting” and as a means to ingrain empathy, and posits that by linking and comparing the circumstances around the Holocaust and other genocides, it may be possible to increase its current relevance. Intentionally seeking to build tolerance through teaching of history, being sensitive to multi-ethnic/racial/religious environments, may be one of the best hopes for creating more resilient peaceful societies.

Asya Darbinyan, from **Armenia**, reiterated that in the Soviet period, as in the other Soviet-controlled states, any discussion of the Holocaust and genocide was forbidden. However, as the Armenian genocide[18] was such a formative factor in the country’s modern history, it was often discussed in homes, with stories passed on between generations. With the new openings in 1991, genocide education was introduced through formal

16. For more details on the Holodomor, see: www.unitedhumanrights.org/genocide/ukraine_famine.htm

17. For more details on the expulsion of Crimean Tartars, see: www.iccrimea.org/scholarly/jopohl.html

18. For more details on the Armenian Genocide, see: www.genocide-museum.am/eng

Elene Medzmariashvili and Elena Ivanova

channels and a memorial site and educational institute were opened to commemorate the Armenian genocide. Relatively little is done to teach about the Holocaust in depth, or to link these experiences to one another or to human rights education. The Holocaust is generally presented as a crime perpetrated by the Nazis, who were defeated by Stalin in a “glorious victory.” The 2015 centenary of the Armenian genocide, however, is providing new opportunities to focus on genocide prevention by examining and analyzing not only the Armenian experience, but the Holocaust and other genocides. A new teacher training initiative has been launched and Darbinyan hopes it will help to ensure that sound and factual analysis is the basis for all education in future, avoiding the all too easy manipulation of their genocide for national propaganda and deepening biases against Turks. In her opinion, the Holocaust education framework can be helpful in focusing education on reconciliation and preventing mass atrocities in future.

Ultimately, the panelists agreed that, given the depth of atrocities in their countries/region – preceding, during, and following WWII – it is essential to ensure that Holocaust education is sensitive to the vast number of victims and does not appear to claim that any one group suffered “more misery” than others. What matters is using the framework to point out how easily groups can become the victims of prejudice, and how quickly the situation – even today – can slide into something much more violent and damaging, even to the point of genocide.

“The 2015 centenary of the Armenian genocide is providing new opportunities to focus on genocide prevention by examining and analyzing not only the Armenian experience, but the Holocaust and other genocides.”

Sub-Saharan Africa

Panelists included:

Naitsikile Iizyenda	*Operations Manager, Museums Association of Namibia, Namibia*
Charles Kenge	*Training and Summer Programs Advisor, Interdisciplinary Genocide Studies Center (IGSC), Rwanda*
Nadine Nshimirimana	*Language Trainer and Curriculum Developer, Rwanda Education Board (REB)/Ministry of Education, Rwanda*
Tracey Petersen	*Director of Education, Cape Town Holocaust Centre, South Africa*

Moderator:

Solange Umulisa	*Deputy Country Director, Aegis Trust, Rwanda*

Solange Umulisa asked the panelists to turn their focus to the role of Holocaust and genocide prevention education in promoting healing in post-conflict societies.

Tracey Peterson, from **South Africa**, noted that Apartheid was built on centuries of discrimination. Holocaust education, in the post-Apartheid period, has been used to help build a sense of common humanity, which had been lost, and help to identify the roots of racism and discrimination. Studying the Holocaust helped demonstrate the import of not seeing some people as more, or less, human than others. The assumption is that teaching about injustice it will equip people to identify it, name it, and work to counter it. Even today, so soon after the end of Apartheid, young people are often incredulous, even disbelieving, of what happened in their own country. Education is key not just to helping them to confront their past, but to equipping them to identify danger signs in future and understand their own roles in stopping or supporting injustice.

By contrast, Nadine Nshimirimana, one of the participants from **Rwanda**, noted that the Holocaust is not a common reference point, nor is the concept or term used in common discourse, rather it is only taught in an affirmative way without going into details. She noted that education about the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda[19] is incorporated into the history curricula but, in most cases, educators are not trained well enough to provide very much detail about the

19. For more information about the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, see: www.kigaligenocidememorial.org/old/

20. For more information about the Hereo and Namaqua genocide in Namibia, see: www.ezakwantu.com/Gallery%20Herero%20and%20Namaqua%20Genocide.htm

violence that was perpetrated. Teachers want to build awareness of human rights, and abuses thereof, and at the same time are sensitive to not traumatizing students. She expressed concern that, 20 years after the genocide in Rwanda, young people may not be fully aware of what happened and, as importantly, of the years of discrimination and violence that were tolerated before it. In her opinion, teaching about the Holocaust and using it as a framework to teach about their own history would help to promote mutual respect and avoid future violence. Her colleague, Charles Kenge, shared this opinion, noting that understanding the history is a necessary step in rebuilding society. He felt that comparing and contrasting experiences of genocide, seeking to understand their specific causes and draw lessons around prevention, would be more effective than learning only about the genocide in Rwanda, as one might be able to observe patterns, trends and significant warning signs. Just as education was used in the past to teach hatred and discrimination, it can be used to build tolerance and understanding and teach human—and humane—values as well. He noted that one of the biggest challenges they face now is how to teach about such a horrifying and traumatic period without (re)traumatizing the students and educators.

The participant from **Namibia**, Naitsikile Iizyenda, went on to explain that most of the world was ignorant of the genocide perpetrated against the Hereo and Namaqua people in her country[20] at the beginning of the 20th century when it was a German colony. Namibia only gained full independence in 1990, following years of Apartheid South African rule that followed the end of German rule. There is a

“Holocaust education, in the post-Apartheid period, has been used to help build a sense of common humanity... Education is key not just to helping them to confront their past, but to equipping them to identify danger signs in future.”

Charles Kenge, Naitsikile Iizyenda, Nadina Nshimirimana, Tracey Petersen and Solange Umulisa

Naitsikile Iizyenda

> ***"Just as education was used in the past to teach hatred and discrimination, it can be used to build tolerance and understanding and teach human – and humane – values as well."***

national policy to promote reconciliation and frequent references to the past, but relatively little of a practical nature is undertaken; it is largely rhetoric. While people still recall the period of South African rule, there is relatively little information and evidence of the 1904 genocide and there are also no public platforms for discussing it openly. There has been some discussion of the historical events and results, but little will to consider reparations or land reforms. More importantly, she noted, there has been almost no public dialogue as to why it happened, and how to prevent it in future. Whilst the Namibian genocide had a direct influence on the evolution of the Holocaust in Europe, the Namibian history curriculum currently only covers European foreign affairs in the 1930s and 1940s and does not provide an opportunity for learners to study the Holocaust and the links between it and the Namibian genocide that took place a generation before. In Iizyenda's opinion, teaching about the Holocaust can provide an important framework for understanding what has happened in your own country, even if the times and context were significantly different. The Holocaust helps reveal the timeline leading to genocide, identifying the processes that are put in place well in advance of the actual killing.

The panel went on to the discuss importance of memorials in aiding and protecting memory. In Namibia, there is a dearth of memorial spaces – this poses a further challenge as it means there are not places where people can confront and talk about their history. Iizyenda pointed out that there used to be a statue in Namibia to

the fallen German soldiers which was removed in 2013. Somewhat counterintuitively, many people felt the removal was a mistake; so long as it was there, it at least acknowledged that something important had transpired, and provided a physical place for confronting and discussing what happened. Even the physical evidence of bodies is largely lacking in Namibia as the German colonizers sent skulls of the murdered to Germany to be studied. These studies, in fact, were used in informing the race policies of the Third Reich.

“The Holocaust helps reveal the timeline leading to genocide, identifying the processes that are put in place well in advance of the actual killing.”

In Rwanda, by contrast, there are memorial sites across the country. Violence was everywhere and no districts were spared, so sites to honor the dead are ubiquitous. These sites are meant to help people to learn about what happened, with a view to preventing anything similar from happening again. They are also meant to bring communities together to share their history and discuss what happened; learning is not limited to classrooms or formal settings only, but is situated within communities. Unfortunately, as one of the speakers noted, they need to teach from what they have – and that is primarily testimonies from the genocide survivors and, in physical form, only bones.

South Africa, as terrible as Apartheid was, has been spared the experience of genocide. But there too memorials are used to help teach about the injustices and violence that were perpetrated. South Africans are also seeking to build a clear evidence base for what works in terms of teaching about genocide and mass atrocities. In a small study recently completed, the most striking finding was that young people connected most strongly with – and remembered – the photographs of people near their own ages. Seeing the faces of victims memorialized in photographs helped them to better identify with the events; it made

Tracey Petersen and Solange Umulisa

“In Namibia, there are no places where people can confront and talk about their history... In Rwanda, by contrast, there are memorial sites across the country which bring communities together to share their history and discuss what happened.”

Nadine Nshimirimana

“A very important distinction was raised between the formal historical narrative and what people actually pass on in their own homes.”

the victims seem “more real” to them and helped the young people to personalize them.

In the discussions that followed, a very important distinction was raised between the formal historical narrative and what people actually pass on in their own homes. Histories are very often passed on at home and these may differ considerably from the public narrative. How can these distinctions be reconciled and what can be done to limit passing on destructive narratives in the private sphere? In Rwanda, there is an effort to address this by encouraging people to share the stories they have heard. Only in this way is it possible to identify competing or contrasting histories and create an opportunity to discuss them openly. They also noted that in Rwanda, women/mothers now have a tremendous role in passing on histories, since so many men were murdered and are simply not there to tell the stories. Programs to reach these women and try to address “misinformation”, or simply trying to balance the level of fury before it continues to be passed down, are important. In South Africa, the Truth and Reconciliation hearings were used to try to create a common/accepted public narrative and to defuse some of the anger before it created another cycle of violence.

*Islamic Societies**

Panel I

Panelists included:

Abderrahim Chhaibi	*Trainer of educators on educational psychology and pedagogy, Regional Center for Education and Teaching Jobs, Agadir, Morocco*
Pinar Dost-Niyego	*Assistant Director, Atlantic Council Turkey Office, Turkey*
Hasan Tahsin Özkaya	*History Teacher, Üsküdar American Academy, Turkey*

Moderator:

Klaus Mueller	*European Representative, US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Germany*

The first panel on Islamic Societies examined cultural factors that create opportunities for, or barriers to, Holocaust and genocide education in their societies.

Both Morocco and Turkey are at very interesting points in their work on Holocaust and genocide education, with recent trainings carried out in multiple locations in Turkey (through a cooperation between Anne Frank House, Amsterdam, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi and the Turkish NGO Association for Social Change) and the subsequent development of a growing network of

* The organizers noted that there was discussion regarding the appropriateness of this term as the regions and countries are not religiously homogenous. Even so, it was felt that there were a number of features in common in Muslim-majority countries, particularly in predominantly Arab countries, and these could therefore be described as sharing characteristics of Islamic culture to some degree.

Pinar Dost-Niyego and Hasan Tahsin Özkaya

educators there, and a conference of Moroccan educators in Berlin convened in 2012 (through a cooperation between USHMM, the International Institute for Education and Research on Antisemitism, and other partners) to discuss Holocaust education and the beginnings of network-building there as well.

Holocaust education in the national curriculum in **Turkey** is currently limited to one sentence: “Nazi Germany gathered European Jewish and Roma minorities and opponents and destroyed them in death camps” in the textbook that accompanies the elective course, Contemporary Turkish and World History. It is just one sentence but it at least gives teachers a chance to deepen their teaching about this topic. The Turkish government has now expressed interest in expanding Holocaust education further in its national curricula. Turkey is the only Muslim-majority country at this moment that has expressed such an interest. Its observer status at the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), where a commitment to Holocaust education (along with opening archives for Holocaust-related research and the support of Holocaust remembrance) is one of three core commitments for a potential member state, is an encouraging signal. The government’s support of Holocaust Remembrance Day in Turkey, in cooperation with the Jewish community, has been widely noted by the international community, and the future will show if and how relevant steps will be taken to integrate Holocaust education into the school system as well as to open the archives for Holocaust-related

Abderrahim Chhaibi

research. As any other country, a look back at Turkey's own history during the Holocaust and treatment of Jews reveals a mixed picture.

Turkey allowed some refugees to come to Turkey or to pass through their territory. At the same time, there is evidence of anti-Semitic policies in place, such as demanding a "Wealth Tax" (which was levied on wealthy Turkish citizens, and although not specifically targeting minority groups, in practice impacted mostly non-Muslims) and placing some Jews into labor camps if they could not pay it. As there are stories of support and shelter, there are also stories of Jews being stripped of their citizenship and being forced out of the country, and of refugees being refused help. Anti-Semitism is arguably more problematic in today's Turkey, with Holocaust denial or distortion not uncommon in the media and in public rhetoric, especially when it is tied to criticism of Israel.

"Anti-Semitism is arguably more problematic in today's Turkey, with Holocaust denial or distortion not uncommon in the media and in public rhetoric, especially when it is tied to criticism of Israel."

A specific problem for Turkey remains on how to address the Armenian genocide. State textbooks in Turkey categorically declare there was no genocide (although they do acknowledge that Armenia accuses Turkey of such) and provide their own version of events, including identifying Armenian violence targeting Turks well into the 1980s. There are, of course, sources that counter the official government denial and corroborate the genocide, but these are not admitted into formal education systems.

With regards to teaching the Holocaust at some universities, state and private schools, this remains very much at the discretion of instructors and their own individual interest/commitment. Both Pinar Dost-Niyego and Hasan Tahsin Özkaya have taken advantage of this flexibility and are at the forefront of teaching Holocaust education in Turkey. Students may undertake research projects related to the Second World War and apply their own critical analysis of events. Dost-Niyego applauded the creative interactive pedagogies available through USHMM and noted that her university-level students valued studying the Holocaust through new methodologies that brought them deeper level of knowledge.

Abderrahim Chhaibi recounted a rather different situation in **Morocco**. Throughout his formal school years he never heard about the Holocaust – it was simply absent from their curricula. When he did first hear of the Holocaust he said he was both touched and intrigued,

“Anti-Semitism is prevalent, if not common, across much of Morocco, and Holocaust denial and distortion are more or less the norm.”

and determined to learn more about it as well as Jewish history in Morocco. He discovered generations-old contacts and similarities between Berbers and Jews in the region; as one woman he interviewed put it, “it is one people, two religions”. Some statistics (related to the Vichy discriminatory acts) indicate that before 1941 there were approximately 250,000 Jews (approximately three to four percent of the population) in Morocco. During the war, the policies of Vichy France were largely applied in Morocco, so Jews, whether locally based or escaping from Europe, were not safe (initially, the Sultan sought to protect Moroccan Jews and they fared better than European Jews, but persecution for all Jews increased through the war years). The current Jewish population in Morocco is estimated to be less than 3000 people total.

Chhaibi recounted the resistance he has encountered since trying to introduce awareness of the Holocaust and its import, and to encourage introduction of Holocaust education into the mainstream curriculum. Anti-Semitism is prevalent, if not common, across much of Morocco, and Holocaust denial and distortion are more or less the norm. He said people asked him why he was interested in supporting Jews since Israel is “their enemy.” The Israeli-Palestinian conflict casts a long, and dark, shadow in the region. He countered that Jewish history is irrevocably intertwined with Moroccan history, and understanding and learning from the Holocaust is relevant today. His plans include surveying students and teachers in the country to understand what is already known and what the attitudes are toward Holocaust education; and then to be a leader/expert of Holocaust education to help other teachers and students to understand what happened during this crucial period of recent human history.

Islamic Societies

Panel II

Panelists included:

Zeina Barakat	*Palestinian Ph. D. student, Friedrich Schiller University of Jena, Germany,*
Alioune Deme	*Assistant Professor of Archaeology, Department of History, Cheikh Anta Diop University, Senegal*
Saad Ibrahim	*Founder, Arab Organization for Human Rights, Egypt*
Fawad Javaid	*South Asian and American Studies scholar, Pakistan*

Moderator:

Edward Mortimer	*Senior Program Advisor, Salzburg Global Seminar, UK*

The second panel on Islamic Societies focused more explicitly on the prevalence of anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial/denigration in their societies, what strategies might be effective in redressing these challenges, and what role current relations between Israel and Palestine play in informing societal attitudes.

Zeina Barakat, from Jerusalem, confirmed that the Israeli-Palestinian (and more generally the Arab-Israeli) conflict overshadows all other

Zeina Barakat (second from left) with Charles Kenge, fellow Palestinian Mohammed Dajani Daoudi and Asya Darbinyan during group work

“There is a general feeling among Palestinians that while the Holocaust has ended, the Nakba continues.”

narratives in **Palestine**. Because of the 1948 *Nakba* (translated as “catastrophe”, and referring to the Palestinian exodus) and deep resentment against the Israeli persistent occupation and aggression, Holocaust education has not been part of the Palestinian curriculum and is almost universally denied. She noted that the Israeli narrative builds significantly on the Holocaust, its root causes and its ramifications. In Palestine, however, the central collective narrative focuses exclusively on the Nakba[21] and Jewish Israelis are viewed as the primary peace spoilers. There is a general feeling among Palestinians that while the Holocaust has ended, the Nakba continues; and that while they had no part in the Holocaust, they have ”paid the price for it.” To them, the Nakba is actually more destructive to the lives of Palestinians. Barakat believes it is important that Arab and Muslim States teach about the Holocaust along with other genocides as a “preventive cure.” In her opinion, however, Holocaust education will be difficult to be introduced in Palestine until the Palestinian Nakba is acknowledged, the rights of the Palestinians are restored, and the conflict is peacefully resolved. Holocaust education as well as Nakba education could become fundamental peace-building endeavors of post-conflict reconciliation[22].

The Fellow from **Pakistan**, Fawad Javaid, reminded his colleagues that his country was formed primarily based on religious ideology. In his

Fawad Javaid

21. For a general overview of the term, events, and alternative responses, see: www.historyandreconciliation.org/resources/publications/two-sides-of-the-coin/

22. See page 43 for summary of a discussion about the Nakba and the Holocaust

opinion, political anti-Semitism is rampant – in public rhetoric, the media, even academia – and manipulated for political gain. There is also considerable public sympathy for Palestinians, and Israeli actions are not seen as separate from the wishes or interests of Jews. In addition, theological anti-Semitism persists which means he does not see much likelihood of acceptance of the Holocaust through "religious channels."

" In Pakistan, political anti-Semitism is rampant. "

Saad Ibrahim explained the prevalence of conflicting narratives about, and responses to, the Holocaust in **Egypt**, which are also completely colored by the mostly negative responses to Israeli actions. On the one hand, he noted, Egyptians do learn about the facts of the Holocaust and feel sympathy for the millions of people killed and hunted out of Europe. On the other hand, there is a pervasive feeling that Egypt has been a clear loser since the founding of Israel. As he phrased it, Egyptians (generally speaking) feel that "they have to pay for the sins of Europe." The founding of modern Israel has caused great disruption across the region and many Egyptians feel a sense of continued colonial experience – in that geographic lines and political norms, set by European powers to suit themselves in the early 20th Century, remain in force. Israel's creation is blamed for impeding Egypt's economic growth as well, requiring resources to be diverted to military capability, the cost of actual wars, supporting Palestinians, etc. These narratives make it extremely difficult to incorporate Holocaust education as a means to teach about human rights and genocide prevention. The speaker, however, was clear that he was recounting common narratives and not supporting these opinions.

Alioune Deme recounted a different story from his country **Senegal**. While Senegal is majority Muslim, it is not the only, or even the primary, identity for people there. Senegal was under colonial rule during WWII so people there feel that the Holocaust is intertwined with their own history. There were Jews living in the country and camps were created to imprison Jews during the war. The colonial history, and first-hand experience of how occupiers create and manipulate identities in different ways (race, religion, nationality, etc.), has created the capacity for empathy among Senegalese. In the speaker's opinion, deconstructing the Holocaust is an effective way to understand how prejudice is created, and also how to stand against it. He also noted the personal history of independent Senegal's first president, Leopold Sedar Senghor, who was caught by the Nazis and

" First-hand experience of how occupiers create and manipulate identities in different ways (race, religion, nationality, etc.), has created the capacity for empathy among Senegalese. "

“The Israeli-Palestinian divide shapes so much of the narrative across the Islamic world.”

taken to *La Charité Sur Loire*. He was detained for 18 months in various camps and finally sent to Front Stalag 230 in Poitiers. Senghor helped organize the underground resistance of war prisoners in various prison camps. Released in 1942, he continued to organize the resistance. He decried his experience as a prisoner of war in Nazi prison camps in a collection of poetry entitled *Chants d'Ombre* published in 1948. Deme went on to point out that the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People[23] has always been chaired by Senegal as they have been considered a tolerant party.

Given the degree to which the Israeli-Palestinian divide shapes so much of the narrative across the Islamic world (exceptions like Senegal aside), the moderator asked the panelists, and the participants, whether they thought it would be ultimately helpful to seek to bridge the Holocaust and Palestinian narratives, the Holocaust and the Nakba, somehow seeing them as part of a larger story? Reactions were divided. As one participant noted, these narratives already are combined at some level – they cannot be completely separated. In his opinion, more consciously weaving them into a single narrative could be a means of creating more understanding and empathy among the various parties. Further, it was felt that extremist voices in both camps (as it were) benefit from separate narratives since those allow each one to play the victim, and to deny the experiences of the other. There may be political expediency in seeking to combine these narratives.

Other participants, however, felt the differences between the Holocaust and the Nakba are too great. The sense of scale and severity, the understanding of victims and perpetrators, etc. are far too different and distinct. Some also worried that if these narratives were combined, it would give credence to Holocaust deniers. The Nakba narrative is complicated and multi-faceted and denial/distortion are tied up in it for many people. They did suggest, however, that while they cannot be combined, they do exist side by side, and that each needs to understand and respect the narrative of the other.

The panel moved on to discuss what strategies are being used or could be used to fight Holocaust denial. In Senegal, the Holocaust is part of a story of oppression and is important in understanding the construct of prejudice and “othering”. Ibrahim suggested that the problem of Holocaust denial is not, in fact specific to the Holocaust, but is related to prejudice. He has witnessed the reactions of Egyptians meeting

23. UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People: unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/com.htm

Alioune Deme and Saad Ibrahim

Israelis for the first time and amazement they often have to find they are so similar. In his opinion, one of the most important strategies is to ensure that people meet one another. He proposed, in fact, that the participants at the symposium seek to reinitiate people-to-people experiences among Arabs/Muslims and Israelis/Jews. Experiences could be evaluated, over time, and (hopefully) result in changes with an evidentiary base. Within Palestine, Barakat referenced the extraordinary efforts of Professor Mohammad Dajani Daoudi who took a group of Palestinian university students to Auschwitz to observe first-hand evidence of the Holocaust [see next section]. She identified this as the first "crack" in the barrier and felt that the time may be ripe to introduce Holocaust education into the formal curriculum in Palestine. In Pakistan, Javaid noted that more research is required to understand perceptions about the Holocaust, Jews and the state of Israel, in order to identify concrete ways to improve them and successfully counteract denial. He also suggested a further complication: the normalization of relations between Israel and Pakistan remains difficult. Pakistan, he explained, relies on the diplomatic support of Arab countries in its omnipresent conflict with India. Many of them refuse to normalize relations with Israel and would count it an insult if Pakistan were to do so. He does not, unfortunately, see this changing in the near future.

The other strategy suggested was to use practical research and present that to education policy-makers, building support for the introduction of Holocaust education and genocide prevention into official curricula.

"The problem of Holocaust denial is not, in fact specific to the Holocaust, but is related to prejudice."

"Holocaust education should not be about emotional manipulation; rather, it is a serious analytical study of how human atrocities played out on a massive scale when perpetrators went unchecked. While analysis may not reveal a 'blue print' for all genocides, it does provide signals and warnings that we all need to be aware of, and prepared to guard against, in order to prevent future atrocities."

Participants noted that it was critical to – again – question the motivations behind, and purposes for, teaching about the Holocaust. Holocaust education should not be about emotional manipulation; rather, it is a serious analytical study of how human atrocities played out on a massive scale when perpetrators went unchecked. While analysis may not reveal a "blue print" for all genocides, it does provide signals and warnings that we all need to be aware of, and prepared to guard against, in order to prevent future atrocities.

The group asked, then, who is/are the "we"? Each person in the room was there as an individual, not representing a collective, let alone a country. How can change be brought about? What can the people in the room do to help shape change? The organizers reminded the group that while not a political collective, they are, in fact, a powerful network of influencers and change-makers. By working together, sharing resources, supporting one another, providing information, and so forth, they can leverage their combined strengths and start to do even more to widen those "cracks" in the barriers and create new ones as well.

Mohammed Dajani Daoudi and Yariv Lapid

Holocaust and Nakba: Can Israelis and Palestinians understand each other's trauma?

Time was set aside one evening during the symposium for a (still too rare) conversation between an Israeli Holocaust education specialist working with Israeli Arabs and Jews, and a Palestinian professor who advocates teaching about the Holocaust in Palestine.

In their narrative, the Palestinians use the term, al-Nakba, or al-Karithah (Catastrophe or Disaster), to describe what happened when the State of Israel was founded in 1948. It refers to the tragedy of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees who lost their land, property, and status as a result of this war. In their narrative, the Israelis use the term "War of Liberation/War of Independence" in reference to the same event. For more information, see: www.historyandreconciliation.org/resources/publications/two-sides-of-the-coin/

Panelists included:

Mohammed Dajani Daoudi	*Founding Director, Wasatia, Al-Bireh, Palestine*
Yariv Lapid	*Director, Center for Humanistic Education, Ghetto Fighters House, Israel*

Moderator:

Debórah Dwork	*Professor of Holocaust history; Director, Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Clark University, USA.*

Mohammed Dajani Daoudi made headlines at home and abroad in the spring of 2014 when he organized and escorted 27 Palestinian university students to visit Auschwitz and learn about the Holocaust. This visit was part of a joint effort of four institutions: Friedrich Schiller University of Jena, Tel Aviv University, and Ben Gurion University of the Negev, and Wasatia, an NGO founded by Dajani in 2007 to promote moderation, tolerance, and justice. The trip aimed to teach Israeli students about the Nakba, and Palestinian students about the Holocaust. They were quintessential experiential learning opportunities for advanced students and yet they cost the professor his post at al-Quds University and have compromised his personal security. He contributed, with Robert Satloff, an article to the *International Herald Tribune* (March 29, 2011) entitled, "Why Palestinians Should Learn about the Holocaust?" And he co-authored the only book in Arabic (published 2012) which deals with the Holocaust from a human perspective entitled, *Holocaust Human Agony: Is there a way out of violence?*

Yariv Lapid may not have drawn quite as much international attention, but his work is also groundbreaking and challenges many taboos. He currently leads the only center studying and teaching about both the meaning of the

Holocaust and the Israeli-Arab conflict, working with Arab/Muslim, Arab/Christian, Druze and Jewish Israelis alike. His staff is equally balanced, and they work with an equal number of predominantly Jewish and predominantly Arab schools, seeking to build a dialogue across Israeli society – often among people who have competing, contradictory collective memories.

The conversation was moderated by Debórah Dwork, herself a professor and founding director of the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University, USA, who sought to draw the speakers out about not just what they did, but also their motivations.

Daoudi began by sharing his own perspective on the prevalence of Holocaust denial in the Arab and Muslim world, noting that many Palestinians feel they have the "monopoly on suffering" today as they themselves are victims of Israeli continued occupation and aggression and perceive the Holocaust as the main cause of their loss and exile. He himself had suffered the agony of dispossession when his family were obliged to move from West Jerusalem to East Jerusalem in 1948 leaving all their property and belongings behind.

There are fears that by acknowledging the Holocaust as a Jewish tragedy Palestinians may risk undermining their own narrative and rights. Daoudi believes the evidence of the Holocaust is, quite literally, before and all around them and there is no rational way to deny it, nor any benefit. It is historically unrealistic and morally wrong to keep denying it. He advocates that Jewish Israelis should be taught about the 1948 Nakba, namely about the suffering and deprivation of Palestinians in refugee camps who lost their identity, their lands, their properties, their freedom of movement, and much more. He is very clear that experiences of pain and suffering should not – cannot – be compared; but do, however, need to be acknowledged and can help build a sense of trust and respect.

Lapid started by recounting his upbringing in a kibbutz near the border with Lebanon, where attacks by Palestinian terrorist groups were routine. At the time, listening to radio updates on the situation and discussing them with friends, he noted that the people perpetrating the attacks were often portrayed as "inhuman", which he found deeply unsettling. At that time, he realized that "dehumanizing" people helps us to avoid the human ability to murder. If the perpetrators are not human, then I, being human, am not in danger of similar actions. Lapid felt motivated to understand these mechanisms which project evil deeds on to others and allow us the position of saints and victims.

Dwork also asked them to reflect on how their students/participants respond to what they learn and the specific role of Holocaust education in their efforts.

Daoudi responded that taking students to Holocaust memorial sites in Krakow and Auschwitz where they are confronted with evidence of the Holocaust, provides them with a different frame of reference not just for understanding history, but also for making connections to their situation today. They begin to understand the Jewish experience and grasp the meaning of the "final solution" that was envisioned. He stressed that gaining this information does not excuse abuses that are carried out against Palestinians, but it

"humanizes" people and compels the students to revise narratives they have been taught. He characterized his role as helping to bridge gaps in perspective and understanding in the hope of achieving reconciliation through stirring joint feelings of empathy. Learning about the suffering of the other would not make one less nationalistic about his own human rights but would make him more humanistic in general.

Lapid echoed some of those feelings, noting that his center runs programs in schools that are held over months and provide opportunity to understand the Holocaust as a complete breakdown of society and what can occur because of deep prejudice and systematic racism. He teaches at the same time about what Jews did to Arabs/Palestinians, seeking to place violent human behavior in a normative framework. "Evil" acts are presented as products of human nature – not as "inhuman" acts. Students must reflect on their own prejudices and their roles in supporting discrimination. Only if they can accept that these tendencies are present in all people is it possible to find paths to dialogue and reconciliation.

Lapid went on to point out that while he and his staff face considerable obstacles and resentment for what they do, this does not rise to the level of actual danger that Mohammed Daoudi faces because of his work. The professor's efforts include having written a book about the Holocaust in Arabic and distributed 1000 copies of it for free. And while his students came out in support of him, he was forced to resign his post at the university following the educational trips he planned to Holocaust sites. Daoudi responded quite simply that he has no hesitation or regrets about his actions as he sees them as a service to the larger cause of peace.

Both speakers noted that the narratives we are taught are so strong and powerful that, quite often, rather than the presentation of new facts altering your narrative, the facts are (unconsciously) manipulated to fit the narrative. Holocaust education can help to break through those walls and challenge assumptions – it raises questions that remain pertinent today about why "good people do bad things", and the danger of victimizing others in order to feel safe. In Israel, Lapid noted, there are textbooks that provide parallel narratives, describing events through an Arab/Palestinian perspective as well as a Jewish/Israeli one. Unfortunately, to date these have not been accepted for use in the classroom. In Palestine, Daoudi referenced the very simplistic characterizations, based on religious misinterpretations, that currently prevail and that are promulgated by many religious leaders.

In closing, both men noted the problem of the politicization, and misuse, of religion that exacerbates the situation as it is used to justify and excuse violence and "evil". They would like to see the proliferation of Holocaust education and education about the Nakba as a mechanism to dispel myths, build opportunities for understanding and dialogue, and begin to change the dangerous colliding narratives that currently guide so much of the thinking and decision-making in the region. Daoudi ended with an allegory of an old man being questioned by his grandchild as to why he is planting an olive tree, knowing it will not mature in time for him to eat its fruit. The grandfather responds that he plants it so that his grandchildren will have food to eat. In the same way, he believes in planting peace and bonds of reconciliation now so future generations will enjoy the fruit of that labor.

Raising Awareness

Institutions

A special panel was convened to examine the role of institutions in raising awareness of the importance of Holocaust education and genocide prevention.

Introductory speaker:

Richard Goldstone	*International jurist, South Africa; First Chief Prosecutor for the UN International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda*

Panelists included:

Navras Jaat Aafreedi	*Assistant Professor, School of Humanities & Social Sciences, Gautam Buddha University, Greater NOIDA, India*
Khamboly Dy	*Head – Genocide Education Project, Documentation Center of Cambodia*
Tali Nates	*Director, Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Centre, South Africa*
Sol Paz	*Coordinator, Manuel Antonio Muñoz Borrero Center for the Study of the Holocaust, Human Rights and Recent Genocides (MAMB), Ecuador*

As an introduction to the panel, Richard Goldstone, an international jurist from South Africa who served as chief prosecutor for the UN International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, made some remarks on the role of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in preventing genocide.

“Deniers have little credibility in the face of the depth of evidence that is brought to bear.”

Goldstone began by pointing out the distinction between what is beneficial in academia and what is effective in the judicial arena. Studying, comparing, and contrasting genocides for educational purposes is beneficial. But it is unhelpful in legal settings. It is impossible to quantify pain and suffering on the kinds of scales the ICC deals with, and therefore, impossible to make sentences that fit the crimes.

Richard Goldstone

In addition, in his opinion, the ICC has relatively little deterrent effect. If a leader, or leadership, has gotten to the point of implementing plans for ethnic cleansing, genocide, and other atrocity crimes, then concerns about possible future prosecution are unlikely to deter those actions. International criminal courts have been active for some years and people have been sentenced for genocide, crimes against humanity and serious war crimes. Yet mass violence is continuing in numerous countries around the globe. He did note, however, that it is possible that some actions in war may be tempered if the leaders and combatants know that they might be tried at some point.

Another benefit of the international criminal justice system is that it makes denial after the fact extremely difficult. Evidence is amassed (photographic, forensic evidence, testimonies, etc.), shared with the public, entered into the record and included in public narratives. Deniers have little credibility in the face of the depth of evidence that is brought to bear.

He concluded by restating that prosecution follows after the crime. What is really needed is prevention – what can be done to halt these crimes before they have caused mass suffering, or before they really are able to begin? What role can Holocaust and genocide education play, and how can awareness of it be raised?

The panel went on to consider what mechanisms have been most effective in introducing Holocaust and genocide education in their countries. Responses included:

- Offering cinema in India, because it can reach the broadest audience, including people who are illiterate;
- Developing comprehensive campaigns in Cambodia in which efforts begin at the grassroots to disseminate information, but include influencing policy and ensuring it is implemented, and public forums and popular media to share individual stories;
- The use of research competitions in Ecuador that receive high level attention and prestige, and the creation and implementation of specialized curricula and training;
- Strategic use of partnerships and engaging exhibits in South Africa, where the Holocaust is used as an entry point for teaching about human rights and their own Apartheid era;
- Partnering with institutions in other countries; and
- Studying methodologies and information used elsewhere and applying those ideas in a way that fits your context and culture – this may include lectures, book events, installations, etc.

Given the power and importance of memorial sites as an educational tool, the panel reflected on challenges and opportunities in their countries to developing and maintaining these effectively. In **Ecuador**, Sol Paz explained that a center has been set up for the study of the Holocaust, Human Rights, and Recent Genocides. The center, named after Manuel Antonio Munoz Borrero[24], the first Ecuadorian recognized as "Righteous Among the Nations" by Yad Vashem, holds events, hosts

24. For information on the legacy of Manuel Antonio Munoz Borrero, see: www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/about/events/event_details.asp?cid=117

Sol Paz (center) with Tracey Petersen and Pinar Dost-Niyego

Navras Jaat Aafreedi and Khamboly Dy

exhibits and is currently developing a database to track artifacts, documents, etc., so that it can become a place to study and gain access to vital information.

In **India**, Navras Jaat Aafreedi reflected on the mass violence that led to partition and the founding of the modern Indian state, with the death toll estimated to range anywhere from 200,000 to 2,000,000 and countless left homeless. Apart from the border, there is no memorial to this terrible event. Since that time, many thousands more have lost their lives through violence instigated by religious agitators. The State, he notes, would much prefer to forget these shameful episodes, leaving the dead unnamed, and the survivors with a sense of continued victimization. It is because of the absence of memorials in India that he feels they are so important.

In **Cambodia**, Khamboly Dy recounted that the Documentation Center of Cambodia is still collecting testimonies and other evidence. Cambodians are facing a challenge, however, regarding the dedication of the bones of the fallen, with very different understandings, often rooted in religious beliefs, about how to dedicate the bones.

Tali Nates, from **South Africa**, noted that there are many memorials and museums commemorating Apartheid, but the narrative of Apartheid was very clearly about racism in the South African context: Whites and Blacks. As they seek to understand what happened in their own country, bringing in examples of the Holocaust where racism was between Whites, and the genocide in Rwanda where racism was

Tali Nates (right) with Asya Darbinyan

between Blacks, help to challenge that Apartheid narrative and more precisely deconstruct racism, xenophobia, homophobia, and other forms of prejudice. She noted the tragic irony that at the same time South Africans stood in line to vote in the first post-apartheid elections, the genocide in Rwanda was beginning. Somehow, more has to be done to understand "genocidal tendencies" and ensure that no one can be systematically stripped of their humanity.

All of the panelists agreed on the important role of civil society and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in helping to counter denial and distortion. In **India**, given the State's reluctance to acknowledge and honor the victims of atrocities, NGOs play a vital role in spreading information and pressuring the State to support efforts to raise awareness about mass violence and to support human rights education. The Holocaust can provide a useful frame for Indians to study mass violence since it is somewhat removed from their everyday reality, enabling them to reflect on lessons it can offer for the present. In Cambodia, Holocaust denial is not an issue; but comparisons to mass atrocities in Cambodia become problematic if people understand that Hitler killed "others" whereas the Khmer Rouge killed "their own". The term genocide is problematic still in Cambodia and many people refuse to accept that term for the atrocities that were committed. There continues to be a lot of misinformation shared about what happened, and why. In the Fellow's opinion, the very best way to guard against denial is to get first-hand testimonies from survivors from across the country – making it everyone's story. In South Africa, denial of the harm of Apartheid and the violence perpetrated to enforce it was made

very difficult by the Truth and Reconciliation hearings. As Whites stepped forward to make confessions, it became impossible for anyone to credibly deny the crimes that had been committed. Nates raised a slightly different concern, however: South Africans might be so focused on Apartheid that they would fail to connect it to systemic violence elsewhere and the dangers of genocide. In **Ecuador**, denial is also not considered an issue, though it does arise in other parts of the region. The Jewish community in Ecuador is tiny, however, and the importance of Holocaust remembrance can easily get lost. Paz's center deliberately reaches out to a wide range of civil society organizations to join in Holocaust remembrance events each year.

The last question the panel addressed was whether Holocaust and genocide education was successful. Dy noted that Cambodians are still recovering and coming to terms with their own genocide in **Cambodia**. He thinks their efforts are succeeding although the training to date remains largely limited to the teaching of Khmer Rouge history. He noted that while he agreed that Holocaust education is an important tool to help with genocide prevention, there are cultural, contextual, generational, and other differences that make some things more, or less, palatable, and trainers need to be aware of these sensitivities in order to be effective. From South Africa, the example was given of a recent course that was provided for people – anyone – to learn more about the Holocaust and other genocides. Ultimately 120 people, from diverse backgrounds, chose to participate. In her opinion, by engaging people, providing thoughtful and thought-provoking content, and letting them wrestle with the content, they become advocates. In **Ecuador**, Paz noted that it was perhaps too soon to gauge success. She is pleased with the responses, and the interest that is demonstrated in the issues and training. She hopes that she can continue to broaden their work and begin to include educators from other countries in the region where Holocaust education is still lacking. By contrast, there is very little information in India regarding the Holocaust or other mass atrocities. The general attitude is that by talking about any form of mass violence it might open old wounds and lead to new incidences of violence.

As participants moved to discussion, one of the first questions posed was what yardstick should be used to measure "success" through Holocaust and genocide education. Xenophobia, discrimination, violence toward immigrants, indigenous peoples, homosexuals, and worse, are all rising, and seem to be rising in much of the world. In the face of that

"There are cultural, contextual, generational, and other differences that make some things more, or less, palatable, and trainers need to be aware of these sensitivities in order to be effective."

"Holocaust and genocide education are not a panacea... It lays the groundwork to help people to understand systemic violence, to observe the dangers of discrimination, to be able to 'recognize evil' before it is too late."

"evidence" how do we understand the role or value of Holocaust and genocide education in passing on awareness of and respect for human rights and tolerance? It was also noted that misogyny has been missing from the "lists" of ills, and from much of the discussion. How does that fit into Holocaust and genocide education?

Panelists responded by acknowledging that gender-based violence cuts across so many other forms of violence. To date, however, it remains a largely untold part of these histories. Brave women, and men, have begun to speak out about the role of rape and sexual violence, and other pernicious forms of violence specifically targeting women, and hopefully more will be done to surface and acknowledge these stories. Campaigns to recognize sexual violence in warfare and genocidal rape have been successful at the international level. The next step should be to begin to integrate this knowledge and analysis into Holocaust and genocide education.

Finally, one respondent cautioned that Holocaust and genocide education are not a panacea and it should not be expected that spending a few hours, or even a few months, confronting the horrors of the past is sufficient to build more resilient and tolerant societies. It is, however, a crucial step and lays the groundwork to help people to understand systemic violence, to observe the dangers of discrimination, to be able to "recognize evil" before it is too late, and, hopefully, to be equipped to name and fight against these dangers in time.

Khamboly Dy, Tali Nates and Sol Paz

Building and Sustaining Networks

Peter Fredlake, representing the US Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), provided a concrete example of how interlinking networks have been developed and supported through the Salzburg Global-USHMM Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention initiative. Following the 2012 symposium the partners realized there was a high level of concern related to rising anti-Semitism and/or Holocaust denial evident in many countries around the world. The USHMM agreed to put out a call for applicants to take part in a unique intensive training and capacity building workshop, at the museum in Washington, DC, in September 2013.

Six of the (ultimately 25) USHMM workshop participants in this workshop were present again at the June 2014 symposium and were able to share their experiences in their own words. What follows here is only a brief summary. More information is available; please contact Peter Fredlake at USHMM [see end of report for details].

The participants represented in Salzburg were from **Hungary, India, Morocco, Russia, Senegal,** and **Turkey**. All of them related a similar feeling of being largely alone in their efforts to raise awareness of the Holocaust and genocide prevention in their respective countries. They are all working in circumstances where the Holocaust is denied, distorted or ignored, and/or where anti-Semitism is either growing or well-entrenched and accepted already. Having factual information and materials to share in those circumstances is not enough. Educators struggle to stay courageous in the face of so much dismissal, if not outright danger.

Both Klaus Mueller and Peter Fredlake noted that teaching about the Holocaust in Germany and the US, while it may have its challenges, is not something that puts them at personal risk. But these six workshop participants, and the 19 others that joined them, are all taking personal risks of various sorts because of the work that they do.

The sense of solidarity and the very real network that is being formed are expanding the resources of the participants, as well as their institutions, and enabling them to craft new programs together. For example, a number of those working in Muslim majority countries decided to work on shaping new materials together that could help to make the case in each of their countries; in Turkey, a researcher was inspired to become a teacher trainer to help spread Holocaust education across the country; another participant who was formerly a Holocaust denier, not only gained an entirely new paradigm, he is undertaking research and publishing to try to enlighten and shift the perspectives of other deniers in his home country.

The network of USHMM workshop participants and that of the Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention initiative already overlap and are intertwined. The presentation of the six participants served to underscore and reaffirm the very real power of networks and was an invitation to all of the symposium participants to stay connected and to work together – from sharing documents and information, to providing encouragement and ideas, to initiating new projects together.

Fellows gather for the evening program of discussing survivor testimonies

Survivor Testimonies

Over the course of the symposium there were opportunities to hear the voices and stories of survivors through different media. There is no doubt that personal testimony is one of the most powerful and memorable ways to convey to others what happened. As symposium chair **Klaus Mueller** explained, interviewing survivors is one way to "personalize mass killing by focusing on one person." Often the facts involved in mass atrocities and the sheer numbers of victims overwhelm our ability to comprehend what happened. The opportunity to hear one person's story, to identify with a specific individual, can help those without personal connection to begin to identify and grasp what survivors endured, even at a remove.

What follows are brief recaps of two special events during the symposium to hear survivor testimonies – the first in the form of multiple voices captured on video from Rwanda; and the second, an in-person conversation with a Holocaust survivor.

Interviewing survivors:
A conversation between two film makers

Klaus Mueller, in a conversation with **Taylor Krauss**, founder of Voices of Rwanda, posed some crucial questions to consider before

and when speaking with survivors, beginning with “what does one do, when one records the life of a survivor? What does it mean for the survivor? What impact does it have on the interviewer? What impact on those who see it?” He went on to discuss briefly his own experience interviewing gay survivors of Nazi persecution, including for the documentary film *Paragraph 175* (2000) that he initiated and for which he served as Director Research and Associate Producer. He explained that the term “survivor” did not really apply to these men as it encompasses the notion of empathy and recognition, something these men did not encounter as they were never recognized as victims of unjust persecution. Even after the war, they were considered “perverts and criminals” and subjected to ongoing persecution under Nazi laws that stayed on the books in West Germany until 1969. For these reasons, both ongoing persecution and a collective lack of empathy, they hardly ever told their stories. He noted that some of these survivors, near the end of their lives, decided to come forward and share their stories. It was very difficult for them to “enter the space” – a place, physical, mental, emotional, spiritual – where they could recount their experiences to someone else. They had to wrestle with what they wanted to share, what they wanted others to know and what to commit to history, as it were. In the case of the gay survivors, they did not have a support network, they had not met one another, so each person had to be brave enough to tell his individual story – there was no collective story.

In his work, Mueller observed how important it was for him to give control of the conversation, of the experience, to the survivor, rather than seek to orchestrate or direct the conversation. Each person had used his own coping mechanisms to survive the Holocaust, and then to survive the decades of silence that followed. It was vitally important that they retain control, including when to finish the interview or choosing the location where they would share their story. Mueller also acknowledged that the person recording these stories, in addition to protecting the survivor, needs to consider how to protect oneself. Speaking with survivors is deeply intimate, an honor and exceptionally rewarding, but also confronts the interviewer with stories of torture and murder that can be emotionally complex and intensely challenging.

Mueller then introduced Taylor Krauss, founder of Voices of Rwanda, the first video archive established to film and preserve testimonies of

Taylor Krauss (left) and Klaus Mueller in conversation

survivors of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. Krauss created for this occasion a short video of just a few of the many interviews he and his organization have conducted to share at the symposium.

Before showing the video, Mueller held a brief conversation with Krauss, exploring a number of themes outlined above. Krauss shared his own story of how he, as a young American studying film, ended up in Rwanda filming survivor testimonies. He recounted that his initial experience in Rwanda in 2004 left him dissatisfied with his efforts. He returned a year later and simply entered into conversations with people, no camera and no agenda. He was amazed at how much people were willing – and wanted – to share. He began to understand that there wasn't really "space" within Rwanda to tell these stories.

He saw a need to be able to capture and share these stories. He also noted how much language and terminology matters in such delicate work. Many of the people speaking with him did not necessarily see themselves as "survivors," especially those that had lost everything with no children or family left – their lives felt empty. Krauss wanted to honor their stories and their feelings and was cautious about using other people's labels. He created a non-profit organization and set

about beginning to film individual stories. At the beginning, he set about interviewing people, posing questions, expecting answers, with a view in mind of what he "needed" to capture for the testimonies to create a narrative, to have an "educational product." After a time, he realized that this approach placed too great a burden on testimony; people needed to find their own rhythm and it might take some of them time – hours – before figuring out what they want to convey, and he needed to simply let the conversation take place. His interviewing them actually stood in the way of them telling their stories. Instead, he learned to step back, providing questions only to help them "enter the space," letting them speak, and when finished, helping them to "close the floodgates."

Krauss also spoke to Mueller's point regarding balancing the role of being a conduit, of sorts, for testimonies and also protecting oneself. In Krauss's perspective, he feels a great responsibility to respect and honor all the people that have shared their stories with him. He wants to find a way to ensure these sacred stories are preserved, and when he can meet that commitment, he feels he can "move on." His commitment to Rwanda and the friends he has made will never end, but his time documenting their stories will be completed. Following these remarks Krauss started the video, noting only that he wished the people were there to share their stories in person.

The stories in the video cannot possibly be conveyed here; please visit: www.voicesofrwanda.org

Holocaust survivor talk

On one evening, the symposium participants were able to meet **Uri Ben Rahav**, a Holocaust survivor who was willing to share his story. Introductions were made first by his grandson, Guy Shahar, who accompanied him. Benrehav told the Fellows about the point at which his life changed, and did so drastically.

Ben Rahav was born in Vienna, Austria, where he lived until the age of 11. In 1938, following the German annexation of Austria, the policies of the Third Reich were enacted in Austria as well. As a Jew, his life took a 180 degree turn. He recounted brief examples of the precariousness of life in those early years, which included some – rare – positive interactions with German guards who took pity on him in one situation or another. He, his mother and younger brother (his father died many years before the war), were among the last Jews still living in Vienna when they were rounded up in 1942 and sent to the Theresienstadt concentration camp[25]. He recounted stories of their survival, things they did to find enough sustenance, including collecting and mashing chestnuts to eat. He also told of times that he/they were spared for no apparent reason. Others around them were sent on to death camps, some died from disease or botched operations undertaken with no painkillers, or succumbed to malnutrition or to beatings – any number of things that happened on a daily basis.

Ben Rahav himself contracted a severe ear infection that was threatening to move to his brain. The doctor (in fact a trained dentist) decided to see if the infection could be stopped by cutting away part of the bone behind the ear. To the dentist, it made little difference if he survived or not. They simply tied the boy down and with a chisel broke and removed part of the bone. He did survive, and nearly a decade later, having relocated to Israel, met a Jewish doctor that recognized his scar – the doctor, as a young man in Thersienstadt, had been forced to assist the dentist in that very same "operation."

Small acts of humanity amidst so much inhumanity were not unusual inside the camp, especially towards the children. Adults would try to slip extra food to them, for example. Even when it appeared that people were taking advantage, Ben Rahav realized it was important to withhold judgment until all the information was clear. At one point, he and the other boys in his quarters realized that one of the older prisoners helping to manage them was taking bits of bread – a precious

25. For more information about the Theresienstadt concentration camp, see: www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005424

commodity in the face of near-starvation. Before acting, the boys agreed to follow him and find out what he was doing with the bread. He was taking it to another set of quarters that housed elderly people – including that man's father – and trying to help them as well. The children agreed to let him continue.

Uri Ben Rahev reflected how difficult it was to accept his own survival. There were so many times that he was allowed to live, and another to die, for no reason that he could discern. He, his mother and brother all made it out of Theresienstadt alive. Why should he and his family be "spared" (not spared the suffering, but spared from death)? There seemed no rationale as to who was selected to die and who not. He felt this question most acutely when he had a son of his own who asked him, "Daddy, why are we alive?" He had no answer, but after that, he said, he learned to accept there simply is no answer. Why is any one of us spared for longer, and others not? He had survived and there was nothing to do except to appreciate it.

Shahar stepped in and thanked his grandfather not just for surviving, but for passing on his story and also for "educating his son and grandson in his philosophy that the glass is always half full."

Uri Ben Rahev with Marie-Louise Ryback

Peter Fredlake leads the interactive learning session

Interactive Learning

One of the specialties of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) is creating interactive learning opportunities and exercises to aid Holocaust and genocide education efforts. As a key learning opportunity during the symposium, participants went to the Mauthausen Concentration Camp[26]. In preparation for the visit, participants were led through an interactive exercise.

Symposium chair **Klaus Mueller** introduced the exercise by asking why the Holocaust and other genocides are taught, and how that connects to the bigger concerns related to human rights awareness and genocide prevention. He proposed that some of the methodologies practiced in Holocaust education might be helpful to consider in teaching about other atrocities. One of the most important aspects is "place" – having a place of memory, a place where something happened, a place where one can examine and ask questions of that place and also the area surrounding it, which may also not be fully "innocent." Space changes, how we view it and what we understand about it changes, audiences change; all of these are important to bear in mind when trying to teach about, and from, genocide or mass atrocities.

Peter Fredlake, the director of Teacher Education and Special Programs at USHMM, then explained the exercise. He noted that while USHMM talks specifically about "Holocaust education" he does not see this as exclusive or in isolation. Other genocides have equally important

lessons to teach us and finding ways to teach these together, in comparison or in contrast, can help to strengthen the most important points. This particular exercise, he explained, challenges our existing assumptions about Holocaust and genocide education: How do our students' understand genocide? What is their "narrative" of the Holocaust? Why do we teach about the Holocaust/genocide? What do we hope to accomplish with our students? How do we get the most out of the limited time we have? How do we measure success?

The assignment was to create a photo narrative[27], selecting only six photos from 30 available to "tell the story of the Holocaust." The exercise is designed to enable everyone to get to know each other better and for the lead educator to better know and understand the "students." The Fellows completed the exercise and as they presented their titles and narratives, explaining what each photograph represents and how it tells the story, they were asked to reflect on what conversations they had when deciding which photographs to use, and what reactions they had in listening to the other narratives that were crafted.

Following brief presentations of the different narratives created, and the rationale behind each, the discussion turned to challenges. Participants noted that letting go of control over the viewer experience was difficult, and also not knowing what others viewing the presentation might see. Another noted the frustration of the limited set of photos to draw from, making the point that the more limited the archive, the more difficult it can be to teach about events that have happened; as one person put it, "memory is limited by what still exists in the archive." A contrast was drawn between the Holocaust, which has considerable photographic evidence, and the genocide in Rwanda, for which the primary archive consists of the bones of those massacred, and that is what educators teaching about that genocide use.

The exercise was undertaken as a representative example of interactive learning and to spark ideas about different methodologies that can be used for teaching about the Holocaust and genocides in ways that initiate thoughtful and critical exchange. This, after all, is the goal: to examine and analyze these events in order to prevent them from ever happening again.

26. For more information about Mauthausen concentration camp, see: en.mauthausen-memorial.at/index_open.php

27. For the complete exercise details and materials, see: www.ushmm.org/educators/lesson-plans/photo-narrative-activity

Fellows discuss in cross-country groups which images should be used to explain the Holocaust

1. Charles Kenge and Zeina Barakat

2. Hasan Özkaya, Edward Mortimer and Tracey Petersen

3. Solange Umulisa, Tali Nates, Fumiko Ishioka and Alione Deme

4. Wenise Kim, Ababacar Basse, Lorraine Abraham Netretic and Navras Aafreedi

5. Pinar Dost-Niyego presents her group's choices

Visit to Mauthausen

The interactive exercise conducted by Peter Fredlake and the discussion on Austria's legacy with the Holocaust as presented by Gerhard Baumgartner were augmented by Yariv Lapid's introduction to the Mauthausen Memorial Site, the most notorious concentration camp in Austria where more than 100,000 prisoners from countries all over Europe perished. The participants – divided into two smaller groups—were given the opportunity to learn first-hand about the pedagogical approach Lapid had developed with his team at Mauthausen. The approach is predicated on the idea that the history of the camp can be presented more effectively if the participants are given an active role in understanding what they are shown. As the visitors are introduced to the grounds, they are handed large white cards with, for example, photos, statements by bystanders, victims, guards, perpetrators, newspaper cartoons, headlines, etc., and then asked to explain what is on the card and how it relates to the place where they are standing. Why did the bystander say this? What does this cartoon represent? Why do you interpret it this way? Such an exercise provokes deeper reflection on how teaching about the history of the Holocaust can be more meaningful to the student. The pedagogy also encourages the visitor to look outward and see the interaction and involvement of the surrounding civil society, rather than only looking inward at the atrocities within the camp, as if they had been isolated and hidden from the surrounding communities. As one participant later said, "The trip to Mauthausen was incredibly valuable as it provided a superb model of Holocaust education in practice."

Yariv Lapid leads the Salzburg Global Fellows around the Mauthausen Mememorial Site

“The results were beyond my expectations. For example, during my visit to Maunthausen, we discussed the necessity to analyze the relationship between the monument and its surroundings. This new approach helps have a wider understanding of who were the victims, the bystanders, and the collaborators. This was an eye opening for me. I have decided to use it next semester in one of my courses.”

Alioune Deme, Senegal

Symposium Outcomes

As indicated, the primary goal of the 2014 symposium was to further strengthen and expand the Salzburg Initiative on Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention’s global network of partners, enabling them to implement activities that spread awareness about the Holocaust, Holocaust education, and genocide prevention, and reach an ever-growing number of young people in ways appropriate to their cultures and countries. The symposium was a unique opportunity to bring information about, and knowledge from, an expanded group of countries, both deepening and broadening the impact of the initiative.

In addition, the expanding network of partners are positioned to:

- Encourage education policy-makers, civil society organizations, and government institutions in their own and in other countries and regions to develop remembrance programs drawing on the lessons of the Holocaust and past genocides;
- Share their respective models and frameworks with others interested in developing programs on Holocaust and genocide education and remembrance;
- Build their own networks that provide further resources and opportunities to engage local stakeholders, such as leaders of civil society organizations, policy-makers and advocates working toward prevention of genocide, anti-Semitism, human rights abuses, and racism;
- Provide increased information on Holocaust education and genocide prevention measures, scholarship, resources and other related materials for posting on a newly designated website on Holocaust education in non-IHRA member countries; and
- Contribute to a revised edition of the Salzburg Global-USHMM study *Global Perspectives On Holocaust Education: Trends, Patterns, and Practices* – an online public resource[28].

Symposium participants shared knowledge, provided brief case studies as representative examples, considered various measures to

28. *Global Perspectives On Holocaust Education: Trends, Patterns, and Practices*: holocaust.salzburgglobal.org/fileadmin/ushm/documents/Country_Profiles/GlobalPerspectivesJuly2013.pdf

Fellows Ilton Gitz, Fawad Javaid, Richard Goldstone, Noleen Goldstone (guest) and Deborah Dwork during group work

improve practice in their own countries, regions or sectors, and made recommendations for raising the awareness of policy-makers about the importance of teaching about the Holocaust and other genocides. Participants continue to share ideas, information and resources with one another over an active electronic listserve and online knowledge-sharing platform.

Their data and analysis will be added to the dedicated website created for the Initiative (holocaust.salzburgglobal.org). All of these materials, and the efforts of the network, are a means of contributing to the cause of "never again."

Working Group Outputs

Over the course of the symposium the Fellows met repeatedly in smaller working groups in order to focus more explicitly on crafting recommendations. In contrast to the plenary panels, the working groups were based on professional focus rather than geography and included: Museums & Exhibitions; Film & Textbooks; Teacher Training; Research/Scholarship; and Education. Each of the five groups briefly presented its findings and recommendations on the final afternoon of the symposium.

The recommendations specific to the work of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) will be delivered to IHRA at their December 2014 meeting. The policy and related recommendations will be disseminated through the channels of the organizing partners, as well as to the institutions represented in the Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention network. The network comprises

"I will be sharing all this knowledge and experience with my colleagues at the Armenian Genocide Museum, who are actively preparing the new exhibition to be open in Yerevan, in 2015, on the centenary of the Armenian Genocide. And I will definitely use the techniques, and the knowledge I have gained from the Salzburg Global Seminar program both in teaching at school, and presenting the Genocide and the Holocaust to various auditoriums."

Asya Darbinyan, Armenia/USA

Fellows Katlego Bagwasi, Solange Umulisa, Zeina Barakat and David Howell during group work

"One of the most powerful [experiences] was an education part of the tour to Mauthausen with Yariv Lapid. He used a methodology which I learned from him and will apply in my teaching."

Elena Ivanova, Ukraine

representatives from education, policy, media, research, donor, and many more sectors. The working groups provided an opportunity not just to craft recommendations – as important as that is – but also to share individual stories, experiences, challenges and ideas. Participants noted how valuable this time in smaller and sustained group settings proved to be, beyond the information shared in the plenary sessions.

Recommendations for IHRA related to the "Suggestions for Classroom Teachers" document

Each group came up with recommendations to improve the IHRA guidelines for educators. There was often consensus on key recommendations. On one point in particular, that of including a statement related to Holocaust/genocide denial, there were conflicting recommendations. Below is a summary of the primary recommendations.

References to Holocaust denial

There were conflicting views on this point. Some participants felt that including references to Holocaust denial may, in fact, inadvertently substantiate deniers. Others felt it was crucial to note that denial remains a deep concern and needs to be acknowledged and addressed.

Audience

Some participants felt that the guidelines were not well-tailored to educators and suggested IHRA revise the document to be more useful specifically for educators. They also noted that "educators" are not only teachers; attention should be given to other forms of education/educators beyond the classroom. The guidelines point out that students can be

traumatized when learning about the Holocaust and genocide; participants noted this is also true for teachers and educators and awareness of this concern, and how to address it, should be included as well.

Other genocides

Participants suggested IHRA include a position statement that, if undertaken with respect and accuracy, including comparative information regarding other genocides should not be considered as trivializing or diminishing the Holocaust (or other genocides). Some also suggested that simply referencing "and other genocides" seemed itself dismissive and IHRA should amend the reference. At the same time, it was pointed out that some are highly concerned about the Holocaust being "hijacked" for other purposes and/or being stripped of its particular meaning for Jews, suggesting that it is essential to retain the focus on the specific Jewish focus of the Holocaust, even as links are made to other situations in which genocide or mass violence was perpetrated.

Materials

Participants noted that the list of relevant materials was limited and also focused only on the Holocaust. They suggested expanding the list of materials, making it more international, including more resources related to other genocides. They also noted that, given the particular power of film, a list of relevant films – and where they could be located – should be included. Another recommendation was to encourage civil society organizations to create additional educational materials, to develop a wider and more creative set of options beyond official government textbooks. There was a caveat, however, that some checks and balances would be required to ensure these materials were accurate and not spreading negative propaganda.

Purpose

While noting that the context in which Holocaust (or other genocides) is taught, and the intended outcomes, will vary from country to country, participants suggested that IHRA include some examples of why it is important to teach about and from the Holocaust (beyond for purely historical reasons). It was also pointed out that no people or place should be defined as, or solely by, a genocide (i.e., as one person noted, "Rwanda is a country, not a genocide"). Participants also underscored that it should be made clear that the Holocaust not be "used" as a tool; rather, that by examining or analyzing the events that

> ***"I was surprised by the interest in Holocaust education in some parts of the world, inspired by the courage in teaching about the Holocaust and genocide by some of these new friends, and challenged to rethink assumptions about the Holocaust and how it is taught in the United States."***
>
> David Howell, USA

> ***"Thanks to this session, I have a greater understanding of not only Holocaust education around the world, but ways in which I can take what I've heard and learned and apply them to my future goals in raising awareness about the situation in North Korea, which will hopefully lead to greater and stronger actions to stop the genocide happening there."***
>
> Eun Jung Choi, Korea

allowed for and led to the Holocaust, lessons could be learnt to try to ensure that atrocities not be repeated, anywhere or against anyone.

Context

Participants suggested that it might be useful to include resources for trainers of educators that would set the Holocaust in a broader context, including more information about Jewish history, culture, Zionism, and so forth. The point would be to equip educators to better address questions that may arise, particularly in countries with a small or no Jewish population. In addition, some participants felt that including a list of additional terms, that may have more meaning in certain cultures than some of the legalistic definitions, would be helpful.

Standards

In some countries, the educational standard for learning about, and from, the Holocaust is very low. Participants proposed that IHRA give clearer guidance as to expected standards for Holocaust education. Many noted that very little time is dedicated to learning about the Holocaust, or other genocides, let alone visiting memorial sites. The proposal suggested that IHRA include specific suggestions for teacher training and student preparation.

Other recommendations related to Holocaust/ genocide education

Participants noted that because education policy contexts are so country-specific, they could not report out at a group level with any precision. What follows are the general recommendations and key points that emerged from the group reports.

Participants recommended that Salzburg Global, USHMM, IHRA, and other international organizations with influence continue to convene around these issues and seek to engage more representatives from relevant countries, providing a platform for the engagement of leaders, formation of partnerships, support of new research and documentation, and to link new and nascent projects and efforts with established institutions and resources.

Some participants from countries that are not currently members of IHRA suggested that IHRA take a more proactive role in inviting key countries to become observers and seek to make non-participating

Mohammed Dajani Daoudi, Pinar Dost-Niyego, Peter Fredlake and Hasan Özkaya

governments more aware of the importance of Holocaust, genocide and human rights education.

Participants recommended that education materials be made available in local languages, and also that policymakers take notice of diversity across their communities and ensure materials and training are appropriate and of equal quality and relevance.

Some participants felt more guidance for educators (and others) on navigating "competing histories" would be useful. They noted the challenges of teaching multiple perspectives if the factual evidence is open to interpretation. In a similar vein, noting that geographical and political borders are fluid, some queried how one might convey the – similarly – changeable nature of victims, perpetrators, and who is – quite literally – on what "side".

In terms of memorials and remembrances, participants noted the importance of being sensitive to whose memories are being memorialized; and whose are possibly being forgotten. Related, they noted the difficulties of presenting holistic understandings of the often complex roots and results of mass violence, especially when diverse groups may have benefitted from another's oppression, even if they were not directly responsible. In addition, since violence often begets violence, history reveals how relatively easy it is for victims to end up as the oppressors; this raised questions as to whether it is ultimately helpful to draw clear distinctions between victims and perpetrators, in fact. Additional guidance for educators related to these points, they felt, would also be valuable.

Lastly, participants recommended that IHRA, USHMM, and the Initiative undertake more research to explore how to more directly tie Holocaust and genocide education to post-conflict peace-building efforts.

"I hail from a cultural background where promotion of peace and advocacy for genocide prevention is a cherished value and a national need. Muslim World countries like Pakistan view the Holocaust through an Anti-Semitic lens. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict fans Anti-Semitism in the country. At Salzburg I got an opportunity to listen to some respectable Israeli and Palestinian voices on the subject."

Fawad Javaid, Pakistan

"The Seminar's value does not end when the week is over. The discussions do not end when everyone has caught their flights home: in fact the discussions continue back in my office with my colleagues, enriching our understanding of the work with which we are engaged on a daily basis, and informing the development of program and materials as we go forward.

The Seminar has enlarged my world... It reminds us that we are not alone in our work, that we a part of a global network working towards the aim of building just and humane societies through an understanding of the past, however troubled these might have been."

Tracey Petersen, South Africa

Concluding Remarks

The organizers noted how relatively little, still, is known about Holocaust and genocide prevention education efforts across the globe, outside of the IHRA member states. The contributions of the participants are making a tremendous difference in developing a knowledge base – not just on education policies and practices, but how education about genocide is being applied to highlight and guard against the conditions that have led to mass atrocities and/or allowed them to happen in the past.

Researchers and educators are still seeking to understand how best to build respect for human rights and tolerance, and limit, if not eliminate, racism, xenophobia, homophobia, anti-Semitism, and related forms of hatred. The evidence is not yet clear whether teaching about and from the Holocaust and genocide can provide a bulwark against systematic atrocities and create greater tolerance, respect and resilience in society. It is certainly clear, however, that ignoring or denying these ruptures, and the violence that was thereby released, means decision-makers and society at large will be less aware of warning signs and hence more vulnerable to its repetition. Studying these atrocities is crucial for understanding and confronting the human capacity for evil, as well as for good, and to ensure that a more realistic and honest understanding of the complex – and changeable – dynamics related to being a victim, a perpetrator, or a combination of the two, is achieved. It is therefore incumbent on educational policy-makers to advance and promote the education of the history of genocide, the Holocaust and mass violence as a means for future generations to identify – and halt, in time – those elements that can lead to genocide.

The organizers reiterated how critically important it is, especially for those involved in Holocaust remembrance in IHRA member States, to learn more about, and seek to understand, mass atrocities that have happened elsewhere. In particular, they noted how vital it is for them to learn from the educators working across the globe to teach about genocides and atrocities that have been committed in their

own countries. Whether these educators teach about the Holocaust alongside their own experiences or not, those that consider Holocaust education as a mechanism to help prevent genocide and mass violence can learn much about the value of education for genocide prevention by extending and strengthening these networks. Too little is known (broadly speaking) currently about other genocides and the violence that led to them – IHRA members can learn from their colleagues in other countries and regions to create a deeper understanding of genocidal violence, and possible avenues to help prevent it.

The Salzburg Global-USHMM initiative is raising awareness of new strategies for moving to a culture of prevention; deepening and expanding the knowledge base about Holocaust and genocide education efforts; and creating a network of experienced practitioners, educators, policy influencers, and researchers, providing a platform for them to continue to exchange information and create new efforts to try to, finally, fulfill the promises of "never again."

> ***"Being at Salzburg definitely opened my eyes to the harsh reality that is anti-Semitism, discrimination, hate, intolerance across the world; but it has also comforted me to see so many dedicated people who want to make it better."***
>
> Katlego Bagwasi,
> Botswana/The Netherlands

Salzburg Global Fellows and staff of session 535

Appendix I

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Appendix II

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Appendix III

Holcaust Education in Austria

By Dr. Gerhard Baumgartner
Scientive Director, Documentation Center for Austria Resistance

In recognition of Austria's special responsibility, resulting from its role and involvement in the National-Socialist regime between 1938 and 1945, the Austrian Ministry of Education supports and provides detailed information for Austrian pupils about this problematic period of their country's past, offering numerous educational programs for pupils as well as training facilities for teachers in order to enable them to keep up with current standards of academic discussion and research on the topic.

In 2000 "erinnern.at" was established as a special Holocaust Education Institution of the Ministry, which since then has developed into an internationally recognized player in the field of Holocaust education and teacher training, cooperating with numerous partner institutions abroad and with international research and educational institutions such as Yad Vashem, IHRA, the Memorial de la Shoah or the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Activities of "erinnen.at" include:

- Organizing seminars for Austrian teachers;
- Organizing an annual "Central Seminars" covering fundamental questions of holocaust education on all levels of the Austrian education system together with national and international experts;
- Operating a network of teacher trainers in all provinces of Austria;
- Hosting the website "erinnern.at" as a central means of communication among teachers;
- Developing teaching materials;
- Developing and managing projects with national and international partners; and
- Contributing to the endeavors of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.

The first all-Austrian seminar on Holocaust education for Austrian teachers was organized in 2000 at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. Since then hundreds of Austria teachers have had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the Israeli narrative of this tragic event.

Numerous opportunities at the pedagogical high schools and university departments of all over Austria have met with a dedicated response by interested teachers, documenting the great interest of teachers and pupils alike. One of the crucial aims of these activities is to keep alive the memory of persecution as well as of the resistance of Austrian democrats and opponents of Fascism and National Socialism from all walks of life. In this the direct contact between pupils and survivors and eye-witnesses has played a special and fruitful role. Erinnern.at has supported these encounters with especially developed teaching materials, created according to the most current international pedagogical standards for the development of modern educational media.

Since Austria considers questions concerning the teaching about National Socialism and Holocaust to be of international significance, it has been an active member of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA www.holocaustremembrance.com), which it joined in 2001. Members of "erinnert.at" have always played an especially active role within the Austrian delegation.

These educational activities are supported by a number of federal research and funding institutions, which ensure, that Austrian teachers can effectively prepare their pupils for an active role in civil society, helping them to understand the necessity of their active involvement in democratic institutions and to guide them towards an engagement for peaceful conviviality in a more just and humane future.

Global Perspectives on Holocaust Education: Trends, Patterns, and Practices

Prologue

By Dr. Klaus Mueller,
Chair, Salzburg Initiative on Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention
Representative for Europe, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

How do you teach about the Holocaust in countries that were not directly affected by it? Do the lessons of this largely Europe-based event help us to understand contemporary instances of genocide or mass violence, such as those in Rwanda, Cambodia, and Darfur? And vice versa, how does our evolving understanding of contemporary genocide contribute to an evolving understanding of the Holocaust?

There are no easy answers to these and other questions raised by the topic of Holocaust education, but they serve as parameters to compare and evaluate the expertise developed around the globe. While the Holocaust was largely a Europe-based event, it has become a global reference for many discussions in the 21st century.

The Salzburg Initiative on Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention explores these global connections, and divisions, between the fields of Holocaust education, genocide prevention, and human rights. The Initiative has been developed jointly by the Salzburg Global Seminar and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Since 2010, we have convened a series of meetings and conferences that have brought together experts and practitioners of Holocaust, genocide, and human rights education from close to 30 countries. The purpose of this multiyear initiative is to create a space in which experts from various fields can interact across disciplinary boundaries to develop educational models and approaches that help to deepen Holocaust education and contribute to the prevention of genocide and its precursors.

Our meetings in Salzburg are not conferences in the traditional sense. They are based on the strong belief in the value of in-depth conversations and nurture a space in which aspirations, challenges, and failures can be reflected upon in a global dialogue.

As chair of this initiative, I am grateful for this opportunity to describe how we started, developed, and today define our specific contribution to the field of Holocaust and genocide education.

How did we start?

At the 2010 founding conference, which brought together 50 international experts, we allowed ourselves the luxury of addressing large topics: the roots of genocide; the connections between justice and genocide prevention; the relationship between trauma and reconciliation. Our discussions frequently returned to the complex relationship between teaching about the Holocaust and learning from the Holocaust. We investigated the compatibility of Holocaust and human rights education, as well as rising Holocaust denial and distortion.

The conference developed key recommendations on education and prevention and led to a clearer understanding of the need for a long-term initiative. Additionally, some of the themes discussed, such as the fate of women during the Holocaust and later genocides, the need for comparative genocide studies, or the relevance of regional networks have been further developed by participants since then in a variety of forums.

Following the 2010 founding conference, we addressed—in consecutive planning meetings in March and June 2011—the hard question: How can we effect change?

We looked closely at other initiatives, especially at the 31 member-state International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA). We were inspired by the 2010 IHRA paper on the Holocaust and Other Genocides and related debates under

the 2011 Dutch IHRA presidency. After the luxury of scanning the broad field of what had been done, we were looking for what might be lacking, and how we could make a specific contribution to a more connected network of Holocaust, genocide, and human rights experts.

In 2012, we decided to query experts from outside the established IHRA framework in order to better understand how the Holocaust and other genocides are being taught outside its geographic parameters. We see the lack of knowledge about this expertise, and of a network linking those concerned, as one important obstacle to the development of a truly global conversation about Holocaust education and the potential of training as a form of genocide prevention.

Points of departure

The Holocaust is not the first genocide in history. But as Yehuda Bauer stated, while the Holocaust is a genocide, no other genocide has been a Holocaust: The Holocaust was the attempt based on ideology—not pragmatic, economic, or power interests—to eliminate a group entirely, throughout the world. Genocides happen within mostly national or regional borders; the Holocaust intended a total destruction of one group everywhere. The Wannsee protocol did not just list the Jewish communities of Germany or German-occupied territories, but was envisioning the “Final Solution” of the “Jewish question.” The Holocaust changed our perception of humanity. Hannah Arendt described it as “a crime against humanity perpetrated upon the body of the Jewish people.” Countless members of other groups—Roma and Sinti, the disabled, homosexuals, and Soviet prisoners of war, among many others—were murdered as well.

The suffering of individuals, in whatever genocidal context, is horrific and cannot be measured against each other. We do not differentiate genocides to develop a hierarchy of victims, but to understand the tools and mechanisms used by perpetrators. Clearly we are not the only ones who can learn from such an analysis. Throughout the 20th century and now into the 21st, we have witnessed another learning process: that of perpetrators learning from each other, copying and extending their methods of dehumanization.

Much of the debate in recent years has investigated whether, and how, we can move from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention. Both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Genocide Convention were adopted in 1948 linking the Holocaust, history, and human rights. Despite our vow of “never again” we have failed to match these two instruments with decisive action. Since 1948, millions more have lost their lives as a result of mass killings.

Some of the colleagues attending our meetings live and work in countries that have experienced ethnic conflict or genocide: we learned much from them about the challenges of reconciliation. The effects of genocide do not end when violence stops. Survivors live with trauma and loss; a community that has lost its civil core takes generations to rebuild.

While the International Criminal Court and the United Nations have taken relevant steps forward, we are still struggling with bringing perpetrators of genocidal acts to justice—a critical step in establishing the rule of law. Governments have embraced the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) norm, progress in the area of comparative risk assessment. The issue now seems less the lack of a generalized normative consensus, but effective implementation. Some countries are in the process of establishing protocols and government agencies to assess early genocide warnings and engage before military intervention becomes the only remaining option.

As participants in our 2010 and 2012 conferences pointed out, teaching about the Holocaust and learning from the Holocaust define two, often quite different, pedagogical approaches that may be easier to align in our aspirations than in a school environment. Teacher training, student-centered learning methods, accessibility of resources and funds, national curricula: Holocaust education is as much defined by the changing parameters of a national education system as by national perspectives on its relevance.

Our work is guided by the large questions: if, how, and what we learn from history. In our discussions we often felt it was vital to ask the right questions, in order to address the complexity at stake, and to understand different perspectives and answers. One of the major issues discussed during both conferences and the interim meetings was the question of

whether by connecting past genocides and contemporary human rights violations we improve our understanding of both topics, or whether we thereby endanger the recognition of their vast differences.

Seemingly, the Holocaust echoes more strongly than ever in the world: as the lowest point of humanity; as a central memory in Western culture, politics, and legislation; and increasingly as a global frame of reference for contemporary genocide, ethnic conflict, and human rights violations.

A recurrent theme in Holocaust and genocide education is the hope that it can contribute to strengthening tolerance. But can we substantiate the assumption that it is effective against racism, antisemitism, xenophobia, or homophobia? The connections between education, social and civic engagement, and social norms need further exploration and study.

What does it mean, then, that Holocaust denial seems to grow worldwide? Holocaust denial and antisemitism have been embedded in Western societies ever since 1945, and traditional European antisemitism remains a powerful source of prejudice and hate. Increasingly, Western Holocaust denial is adopted and utilized by Muslim fundamentalist voices. For the first time since Nazi Germany collapsed, a state, Iran, aggressively sponsors Holocaust denial as a government objective. Social media has become a major tool for education, and for denial. If such a fully documented genocide as the Holocaust can be denied, what does that mean for the remembrance of other genocides, or massive human rights violations?

Education as prevention?

Within the IHRA, guidelines have been developed on how to strengthen Holocaust education. However, its 31 member states by no means form a unified body. Rather they remain separate nation states reflecting upon the Holocaust within their national histories. Holocaust education in Germany is different from what it is in Israel, or the United States, or Argentina. Increasingly, we explore if and how Holocaust education can be used as a tool for addressing other, more recent genocides and human rights abuses.

What we are missing is up-to-date knowledge of how the Holocaust is referenced and/or used in education outside IHRA member countries. The UN's global mandate as stated in General Assembly Resolution 60/7 (2005) "Holocaust Remembrance," urges member states to develop educational programs that "will inculcate future generations with the lessons of the Holocaust in order to prevent future acts of genocide."

Local circumstances and conditions shape the ways in which the Holocaust, other genocides, and human rights issues can be, and are, taught. We do not seek any "one size fits all" model. Rather, we are interested in creating a global forum in which educators, policymakers, and activists can explore what they share, develop a common vocabulary, and discuss best practices.

As a result of our conversations, we changed the course of the Salzburg Initiative and decided to focus the 2012 session on expertise that exists outside the established frame of the IHRA. Inviting colleagues from outside the alliance, we gained new perspectives, gathered information on best practices, and were challenged by the expertise that has been building in countries from the Global South, as well as in Eastern Europe and former Soviet states.

Encouraged by the results, we decided to undertake an unprecedented global survey of Holocaust education. By bringing together so much extensive data, which will be available online and added to in the future, we hope to make a concrete and lasting contribution to the field and improve global documentation and awareness of Holocaust and genocide initiatives.

Through the 2010 and 2012 conferences and successive conversations, we learned that our colleagues involved in Holocaust and genocide remembrance outside the IHRA geographical framework face daunting obstacles. Emerging networks in non-Western countries, where Holocaust and genocide experts are often working with limited resources and little or no government or civil society support, e.g. Chile, China, Mexico, Morocco, Rwanda, or South Korea, are in need of cross-border and global networking, access to resources, and technical assistance. There is a strong desire for cooperation in Africa, Latin America, and Asia among organizations addressing Holocaust and genocide awareness. Colleagues want to learn from others working on similar initiatives.

In societies struggling with their own legacies of genocide and human rights abuses, for example in Rwanda, Cambodia, or South Africa, educators themselves struggle to understand how such traumatic events were allowed to happen. They point out that Holocaust studies and remembrance can provide orientation and possibly a framework for understanding genocides, and for dealing with other histories of human rights abuses. While Holocaust education, research, and remembrance was indicated as a potentially helpful model, colleagues from post-genocidal countries also emphasized that within this dialogue it is important to consider the particular historical, social, cultural, and political dynamics in each genocidal event.

Innovative work and different educational practices are developed outside the IHRA network and are vital contributions to a growing global conversation on the Holocaust and other genocides. Within the IHRA, however, little is known about work taking place in countries such as South Africa, Ecuador, Armenia, Mexico, Morocco, Ukraine, Cambodia, or Rwanda. We hope that the Salzburg Initiative can contribute to a collegial dialogue on Holocaust and genocide remembrance activities around the world, and an exchange on resources and best practices.

In today's world, Holocaust and genocide denial, distortion, and/or minimization have become global phenomena. Colleagues from countries as diverse as Morocco, China, Turkey, or South Africa stressed the need to develop effective strategies to combat the growing assault on historical truth.

Building on the expertise of our colleagues within the Salzburg Initiative network, we have developed two resources, which we hope will be helpful in addressing some of the shortcomings listed above. This publication, *Global Perspectives in Holocaust Education* is composed of two sections: (1) a comprehensive survey of practices around the globe; (2) an encyclopedia/directory of regional and country-specific resources. We acknowledge the work of many colleagues who contributed to these publications.

Hannah Arendt's description of the Holocaust as a "crime against humanity" helped to frame our understanding of genocide today as an assault on the very essence of mankind: human diversity. Based on this understanding, we hope the Salzburg Initiative helps to nurture a truly global conversation on the Holocaust and other genocides in the 21st century, and that—geographically and otherwise—it will include a more and more diverse multitude of voices and visions in the years to come.

Full publication:
holocaust.salzburgglobal.org/related-documents

Holocaust Education and Remembrance: Achievements and Challenges

By Sir Andrew Burns
Chair, International Holocaust Rememberance Alliance

In the year 2000, nearly 50 governments gathered together in Stockholm to remind the world, in what has become known as the Stockholm Declaration, that the Holocaust was such a catastrophe, such a collapse of civilization that it should never be allowed to fade into history but must remain at the front of our minds. As a warning of what happened once and could happen again, unless we all stand firm against prejudice, antisemitism, racial intolerance and xenophobia.

The full text is in front of you. The governments committed themselves to encouraging Holocaust education, remembrance and research; and to strengthening "the moral commitment of our peoples and the political commitment of our governments, to ensure that future generations can understand the causes of the Holocaust and reflect upon its consequences."

When it comes to mass atrocities there can be no competition in misery. Wherever they take place the human pain and loss is the same and cannot be compensated. The Holocaust is deeply imbedded in the cultural inheritance of European societies and is a central part too of the memory of the world, for there was hardly anywhere in the world that was not touched then or subsequently by those terrible events.

In everything we do we have to factor in the fact that there was a time in the heartland of Europe, in the not so recent past, when our fellow human beings inflicted terrible treatment on their innocent neighbours. We have to plan for a time when we no longer have first-hand testimony to rebut the lies of the Holocaust deniers and reaffirm the truth of what happened.

We have watched aghast as year after year, now in Iraq, Syria and West Africa, we see mass murder repeated.

But the Holocaust stands out as the paradigm of genocide, the most extreme example we know. Six million people killed as the culmination of a cold-blooded state policy to kill every last Jew, man, woman and child, wherever they lived on the planet: to exterminate a whole people.

Sadly genocide is not unique, either in pre- or post-WWII times. The Holocaust was unprecedented in its scale and callous brutality and as the culmination of centuries of hatred and prejudice. It deserves therefore close study both for what it tells us about our own societies and for what it reveals about the human response under extreme pressure. The reason why we continue to study and teach what happened is because the Holocaust came out of the well-springs of European society. We saw a repetition in Bosnia. We can see all over Europe that the Roma and Sinti still endure persecution. We see that Antisemitism is on the rise in the parliaments, comedy shows and football terraces of several countries. It pervades the internet and it poisons the minds of the young.

The atavistic urge to purge the world of people "not like us" is a terrible indictment of the human race. We saw it in the treatment of First Nations in the Americas and in the practice of slavery in Africa. We saw it in the French Revolution. We saw it practised by the fanatical supporters of Marxist-Leninism in Russia, in China and in Cambodia.

We have seen it in the heat of battle in Bosnia, in Rwanda, in Sudan and now in West Africa. We see the same passions aroused across the Middle East, in the Muslim world, just as we saw it in the days of Partition in India. Just consider the attacks on Christian communities in Egypt, Syria and Pakistan. Each time we wake up late and wish we had acted sooner. Many people still fear that to relate the Holocaust to other genocides will dilute the focus on a unique horror. But the truth is that each succeeding atrocity constantly reinforces the sense that the Holocaust is until now the ultimate reminder of how bad things can get.

And as we know, as we study the Holocaust, or indeed study the causes of both World Wars in the Twentieth Century, these events throw a long shadow down the years, from generation to generation. Whether or not we can ever come to terms with what happened and whether or not we can ever truly build a fire-break between past prejudice and the future I do not know. But what is surely clear, and this is my first proposition, is that if we do not face the facts, if we do not face up to what happened, if we suppress the truth, if we try to whitewash our responsibilities away, then the memory of that past and the guilt will continue to haunt us and our children.

In February the United Kingdom took over the chairmanship of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, known as IHRA. I am the current Chair. IHRA grew out of that Stockholm Declaration and is an intergovernmental body, a political network of policy-makers, survivors, academics, educationalists, curators and non-governmental experts committed to furthering international cooperation on Holocaust education, remembrance and research; to fighting the evils of Holocaust denial and denigration; and to doing all they can to ward off any future genocide.

As we work together we have to acknowledge how difficult and traumatic it often still is for people in many countries to face up to what actually happened, to acknowledge who were persecutors, who were victims, who were collaborators and who just stood by and did nothing, except perhaps steal the goods of those who were deported. We are all making journeys of historical discovery and national self-understanding as well as pilgrimages of sorrow and regret. But it has to be recognised that there is still a strong desire in a few countries to rewrite history, to whitewash the past by blaming the Nazis for everything and to evade national responsibility for the help so willingly given the Nazis during the deportations.

The brochure on your table explains some of what we do. We are 31 countries, five observers, soon to be seven with El Salvador and Albania. And we welcomed the International Tracing Service in May as our seven permanent international partner. We meet in plenary session for a week twice a year. We have a vigorous outreach programme to Ukraine, Moldova and the Vatican. We hope to start working with Morocco, Australia and South Africa. There have been Holocaust teaching programmes in China for over ten years and I look forward to hearing more about the interest of other Asian countries. Interest may be picking up too in Africa and South America.

My propositions to stimulate your discussions will address in turn the need for research, the fight against denial, the role of remembrance, the purpose of education, the link with other genocides and the lessons for genocide prevention.

But first can I just try to ensure that we all understand what we are talking about. There are better historians in the room than I who may well want to correct me.

The Holocaust Era is generally held to mean the years between 1933 and 1945 in Europe when the Nazis systematically sought to displace Jews and other undesirables (political opponents, criminals, intellectuals, trade unionists, homosexuals, gypsies, the handicapped) from the expanding German Reich and eventually determined to destroy the Jewish race entirely through exile, starvation, mass killings and extermination camps on an industrial scale. Scholars are showing that in the confusion after the War the agony of the Holocaust lasted later still than 1945.

The years after WWI were politically and economically fragile. After Hitler came to power in 1933 he wanted to purify German society and restore its pride and unity. Jews were seen as a particular threat. They were progressively deprived of their civil rights. Their shops were boycotted; they were disbarred from the legal, medical and academic professions and from government service. They were persecuted, physically attacked, imprisoned, starved and murdered.

At first Hitler's objective was to rid Germany of Jews and go on to defeat the Soviet Union which he believed was led by Jews and populated with a Slavic under-class. As his armies expanded into eastern Europe of course the Germans found themselves taking on ever larger Jewish populations, and Polish and Slavic ones, all of whom had to be dispersed further east or killed if room was to made for German colonisers.

Increasing numbers in their tens and hundreds of thousands were shot in make-shift pits outside towns and villages. And millions were herded into ghettos and concentration and slave labour camps. A similar model applied to Western Europe.

The army was followed by expert teams briefed to ransack the occupied lands and seize valuable property especially works of art. Good cultural artefacts were taken to Berlin and Linz. Degenerate ones, the Picassos and Matisses, were sold to fund the Nazi Party. There was a huge international trade in looted art throughout WWII.

But having failed by the winter of 1941 to defeat the Soviet Union in the 12 weeks Hitler had originally planned, the Nazis found themselves not only in retreat but having to handle situations in Poland and the Western Soviet Union that they had not envisaged. Progress in eliminating the Jews was too slow for the Nazis when it had to be done one by one. And the action had to be taken not in the distant reaches of the Soviet Union, out of sight out of mind, but nearer established centres of Western civilization.

In January 1942, the leading SS leader Reinhardt Heydrich announced to the Wannsee Conference in Berlin plans for the "final solution" to the Jewish problem. All Jews everywhere were to be herded through the ghettos and concentration and slave labour camps to extermination camps in the East i.e. Poland where they were gassed and killed in their millions, in Auschwitz-Birkenau, Belzec, Chelmno, Majdanek, Sobobor and Treblinka.

The height of this murderous campaign, the epicentre of the Holocaust, was between August and November 1942, though the killings went on until the end of the war. And while millions were being deported to the extermination camps, millions more were being murdered in killing sites and mass graves on the edges of towns and villages.

Even when it had already become clear that the Nazis would be defeated, even after the Normandy landings 70 years ago this month, hundreds of thousands were being dispatched from Hungary to Auschwitz. By the end of the war some 6 million Jews and many millions of others had been killed by the Nazis. This was in a state-run campaign, and that is what makes the Holocaust so distinctive.

In December 1942 the Allies, by then calling themselves the United Nations, issued the first collective expression of concern at reports of mass slaughter coming out of the war-torn continent of Europe. They condemned "this bestial policy of cold-blooded extremism in the strongest possible terms" and promised post-war retribution.

In time Nazi leaders would be judged and condemned at Nuremburg and a host of other post-war trials in the Occupation Zones. And in time too the revulsion felt by the rest of the world led to an ever tighter net of international laws and human rights.

But it was only many years after WWII formally ended that there came an end too to the misery of millions of displaced people languishing in the camps, the traumas faced by survivors who tried to go home to villages that no longer wanted them, the hostility towards millions of Germans who were kicked out of Eastern Europe regardless of whether they were new settlers or had lived in those parts for 400 years, or the slow opening up of the borders of Palestine.

Why is the subject still so controversial?

Part of the answer it seems to me is to be found in the collision of two rather different narratives about the Holocaust era. After WWII many survivors scattered around the world to rebuild their lives and put the awful experiences and compromises of the Holocaust Era behind them. The priority of the time was to unite against Joseph Stalin not brood over the damage caused by Adolf Hitler.

Slowly however the historians put together a relatively clear account of how antisemitism grew in Germany and morphed into the Holocaust.

But it was not until the late 1980s that increasing numbers of survivors nearing the end of their lives began speaking out about their personal experiences for fear that otherwise the harrowing, morally complicated truth about the Holocaust would be forgotten.

At the same time another dramatic historical shift was taking place with the end of the Cold War and the fall of communism in 1989. This lead to an opening up of the archives of Eastern Europe. And this coincided too with the war in post-Tito Yugoslavia and the reappearance of genocide on our European doorstep.

This sparked an upsurge in interest in the Holocaust and fresh revelations, with the result that the 1990s saw ever more international conferences about the events of the Holocaust era, what to do with Nazi Gold, looted art, looted

property, insurance policies etc., leading to the international commitments in Stockholm and later Prague that I have already mentioned.

But what emerged in eastern Europe was a rather different and more complex narrative which sought to make sense not only of the Holocaust but of the equally destructive actions of the Soviet Union and local communists in Poland and the Baltic States, in Russia, Belarus and Ukraine where many more millions lived and then died by Stalin's decrees during the Great Famine, the Great Terror and the wartime savagery with and against Germany.

Few genocides occur out of the blue. Not many have such hundreds of centuries of hostility behind them as is the case with antisemitism. But it seems to me that there are six matters which warrant your attention.

First, as I have said, the need for constant research to ensure that the facts are properly understood. That was my first proposition. This means opening up the archives, recording and preserving testimonies and treading very carefully to ensure that the reworking of history does not turn into the kind of historical revisionism which seeks to shift the blame inappropriately.

Easier access to archives is a key IHRA priority. But our flagship project is to develop strategies to identify, preserve, protect and memorialise mass graves and killing sites in Eastern Europe. Ignoring the physical evidence will only encourage those who prefer to say that the Holocaust has been exaggerated.

My **second** proposition is that through the work of educators and politicians we must resist the siren voices of denial, denigration and trivialisation. The leaflets in front of you spell out the Holocaust denial challenges facing IHRA. It took six years to agree this definition.

My **third** proposition is that monuments, memorials, museums and annual ceremonies of remembrance are vital elements in ensuring that societies do face the historical truth. They can play a vital role as the firebreaks between the past and the future. Each year in the UK the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust stimulates over 2000 commemorative events across the UK each 27 January.

My **fourth** proposition concerns education. It is not enough to talk emotionally about the Holocaust. Indeed some of the most popular movies, like the Boy in Striped Pyjamas, are poor guides to what happened. Our educators have to think hard why they are teaching it so that they can be clear about what they are teaching, to whom, when and how. IHRA, led by the UK, is putting big resources into assessing the impact of Holocaust Education

The physical prevention of genocide must largely be the responsibility of governments working through established international institutions and in accordance with a strong growing consensus behind the Responsibility to Protect. It is not for IHRA to duplicate what other bodies are doing to stand against genocidal tendencies wherever and to whomever they occur. But there are lessons to be drawn from the Holocaust experience which could help our societies grapple with a phenomenon which is far too prevalent and which seems to grow with the size of our populations and the technological sophistication of our societies.

So my **fifth** proposition is that the strongest barrier against prejudice is the ethical strength of a society. Values of tolerance and mutual understanding need to be inculcated into the young and reinforced throughout life. And they have to be based on a profound sense of history.

Research provides an ever sounder basis for understanding the Holocaust. Remembrance reminds us of how fragile our societies can be and that progress, modernity, intellectual achievement, technological advance and good intentions are no guarantee that darker instincts will not prevail. Education should give our societies the confidence to move forward in a humane and enlightened way.

But material progress does not guarantee ethical progress. Hence the wisdom of constantly remembering and teaching the events of 75 years ago. For IHRA education is the key. We have supported hundreds of projects all over the world. Our experts have developed comprehensive guidelines for teaching about the Holocaust.

My **sixth** proposition is that we have to be vigilant to what is happening around us and recognise evil when we see it. We must watch the trends and the opinion polls, honestly and with

a practical determination to take action against antisemitism, Holocaust denial or other worrisome trends sooner rather than later.

All societies have to recognise the imperative need to combat hate speech and hate crimes in all their forms at the earliest possible stage before racial, religious and ethnic abuse becomes so frequent, loud and mainstream that it coarsens political discourse and threatens the safety and well-being of a country's inhabitants, whether citizens or not. This imperative need becomes an urgent obligation when hate speech and hate crimes threaten to turn into incitement to violence.

It follows that societies must understand, protect and promote the central importance of the rule of law and the duty of judges to uphold the law against populist pressures. Citizens and non-citizens alike must be able to trust the legal system, and those empowered to enforce the laws, to stand up for the democratic and constitutional rights of all citizens and all those within the protection of the state.

And finally a heavy responsibility rests on the press and media to report impartially, fearlessly and frankly, neither fanning the flames of prejudice nor buckling under to threats from political or societal forces intent on whipping up prejudice.

These days human rights concerns are integral to the foreign policy objectives of many governments. Indeed I would argue that it was universal revulsion at what happened during the Holocaust that was the prime motivation for many of the institutions and laws that promote equality and non-discrimination across an astonishingly wide field and among countries with very different standards of public tolerance.

For whether we look at charges of genocide and torture in the existing six international criminal tribunals (the International Criminal Court and the Tribunals on Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Cambodia and Lebanon); whether we defend the right to freedom of religion or belief in constitutional practices around the world; whether we campaign for women's and children's rights, protect GLBT rights or fight racism, xenophobia, antisemitism or other forms of intolerance and prejudice in our own societies; we are drawing inspiration from the memory of the Holocaust.

So to recap. My six propositions are:

1. Promote research and search out the truth;
2. Fight the genocide deniers;
3. Build remembrance as a firebreak against past prejudice;
4. Think hard about why you teach a genocide and constantly assess the impact;
5. Promote ethical values in a society;
6. Be vigilant: stamp hard on the first signs of hate speech, protect the judiciary and the rule of law, and nurture the freedom of a responsible press.

Appendix VI

Letter to the participants of Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention: Sharing Experiences Across Borders

From The Hon Michael Kirby AC, CMG
Chair, UN Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in North Korea (2013-14)

I applaud the program at which the marvellous Salzburg Global Seminar will address issues presented by holocaust and genocide education.

I have just concluded my duties as chair of the United Nations Human Rights Council's Commission of Inquiry on human rights violations by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) (North Korea). The report of the Commission of Inquiry is available online: www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/CoIDPRK/Pages/Documents.aspx

It was presented to the HRC on 17 March 2014, and to the members of the Security Council of the United Nations on 17 April 2014.

The mandate of the COI required it to report on human rights violations by the DPRK, including where any such violations rose to the level of 'crimes against humanity'. In the course of its investigation, the COI addressed the issue of whether 'genocide' had been shown to have occurred in the DPRK. In the end, relying on the definition of 'genocide' in the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the COI did not conclude that there were reasonable grounds for finding that genocide had occurred – even though there was plenty of evidence that conduct by the government and agencies and officers of the DPRK had targeted particular segments of the population. Normally they had done so on the basis of their political opinions, where these were considered hostile to the government.

The current definition of 'genocide' in the Convention is confined to the targetting of populations, or parts of populations, on the basis of their ethnicity, nationality, race or religion. A question now arises as to whether this unduly constricts the categories of 'genocide' as recognised by the international community since the Convention was debated and adopted in 1948. The debate and drafting at that time were greatly influenced by the circumstances and features of the Holocaust, in particular as it targeted the Jewish populations of Europe on the basis of their ethnicity, nationality, race and religion. The cases of Cambodia and DPRK (and doubtless others) appear to indicate that a further category founded on political opinion could be justified. In fact, in the opinion of the Commissioners of the COI on DPRK, such an additional category would be analogous to the category of religious belief, since both are features of humanity not inherited at birth but derived subsequently and based on moral, philosophical and spiritual values and beliefs.

The foregoing issues are discussed and explained in the COI report. In the end, the COI had plenty of evidence of 'crimes against humanity'. It rejected the notion that 'genocide' was a 'gold standard' international criminal offence. Crimes against humanity are extremely grave international crimes and no hierarchy could be adopted suggesting that they somehow belong at a lower level of seriousness.

Nonetheless, this issue deserves closer attention in any educational program addressed to the current features of 'genocide' in our world, and the features of that international crime that are likely to reoccur in the future. I invite attention to the paragraphs of the COI report in which the commissioners expressed and explained their conclusions, but also indicated that the matter deserved further attention from the international community.

The lesson of history is that such further attention often begins in relatively humble ways. It begins in the minds of civil society organisations and human rights activists. It is continued

in scholarly institutions, universities and international law institutes. It is ultimately debated among national governments and finally brought to consideration and determination in the forums of the United Nations itself.

In the present age, and particularly in the world of human rights, we are not captives of the past. Boundaries of international and universal human rights continue to be expanded in order to meet the grave wrongdoing committed by some human beings against others.

Few international institutions have had more influence over the years than the Salzburg Global Seminar. In the past, I have had the privilege of attending the seminar on a couple of occasions. Now there are new issues deserving its attention. These include: the global approach to narcotic drug control; human rights issues presented by HIV; the issues of animal rights, protection and welfare; the international issues of LGBTIQ rights and the resistance to respect for them on the grounds of supposed religious and cultural values; the issue of intellectual property and pharmaceuticals as it impinges on the right of access to essential healthcare necessary for human life; and issues raised by climate change. One further issue can be added, in the light of the above discussion and the work of the COI on DPRK, namely the modern definition of 'genocide': whether the current definition in the Genocide Convention is too narrow, and whether it should be expanded to include the destruction of a population, or part of a population, on the grounds of the political opinion that its members hold or are believed to hold.

In the hope that this may attract the future attention of Salzburg Global Seminar, I send greetings to the participants in the Holocaust and Genocide Education Symposium in June 2014.

(Signed)
Michael Kirby
Chair of the UN Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in North Korea (2013-14)

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Salzburg Global Seminar

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United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

A *living* memorial to the Holocaust, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum inspires citizens and leaders worldwide to confront hatred, prevent genocide, and promote human dignity. The Museum provides a powerful lesson in the fragility of freedom, the myth of progress, and the need for vigilance in preserving democratic values, and encourages people to fulfill the promise of *Never again*.

Salzburg Initiative on Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention

Over the last half century a great many programs on Holocaust education and initiatives on Holocaust remembrance have been launched and continue to be implemented in countries primarily located in Europe and North America and Israel, most of whom are members of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA). However, little is known about programs and initiatives on the subject outside of IHRA.

Salzburg Global Seminar, together with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, seeks to bring greater awareness of Holocaust education and remembrance programs in other countries with the objective of fostering dialogue, promoting tolerance, and providing a knowledge-sharing resource platform.

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